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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

THE WORKING CLASS  
AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No. 5, Sep-Oct 1984

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## THE MASS AS A SUBJECT OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL ACTION

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 84, pp 28-45

[Article by B. A. Grushin: "The Mass As A Subject of Historical and Social Action: Experience in Defining the Concept"]

[Text] One of the most important features of social science in the 20th Century is the great attention paid to mass processes, which are taking place in all spheres of life of modern societies, without exception, and are manifested in numerous forms of mass activity (mass behavior) and mass consciousness. Characteristics of the development of present day material and spiritual production and consumption; social and political movements in various countries and regions; the obvious increase in the role of the working people and their vanguard, the working class, in current human history; and the most complex ideological and sociocultural phenomena, arising as the result of and precondition for the functioning of the latest means of mass communication, public opinion and so-called mass culture -- all of these and similar problems have given rise to endless theoretical and empirical studies centered on examination of the phenomenon of the mass, or masses -- a specific subject of historical and social action, substantially different in its main features from various "classical" (social, ethnic, regional, etc.) groups.\*

\* It should be emphasized that there has been no less interest in this area expressed by practitioners, including figures in the international communist and workers' movement. This is evidenced by the increased discussion of all these questions on the pages of the journal PMS [PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM] in recent years. See, for example, the discussion with (F. Gamboa), Politburo member of the Costa Rican Peoples' Vanguard Party Central Committee, "Communists and the Consciousness of the Masses" (1978, No 2); the article by (A. Ambat'elosa) Politburo member of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee, "On Forming the Consciousness of the Modern Working Class" (1978, No 6); the dialogue between (P. Boychuk), candidate member of the Canadian Communist Party Central Committee Ispolkom; and (Kh. Laborde), Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Argentina, "An Important Aspect of the Class Struggle" (1979, No 10); "Round Table" materials "Communists and Public Opinion" (1980, No 5); and the Survey of an international discussion of Marxists, "'Mass Culture' or 'Culture for the Masses?'" (1983, No 1) and other publications.

As we know, on the operational level of analysis, empirical sociology first confronted this phenomenon approximately 100 years ago, around the turn of the century, when researchers noted instances of public (joint) behavior of people, to which clearly criteria of the traditional group approach did not apply. At first glance, present here were communities of individuals, sometimes very substantial communities; however (and this is the whole issue!), they demonstrated differences from strictly group forms of behavior, and were distinguished by a different nature than those "customary" groups already described by science. In the first place, they arose seemingly by accident, not due to some primary "law" related to certain common traits of individuals, forming a strictly group community, but, rather, suddenly, due to some specific "cause" or another. Secondly, they were characterized by a clearly expressed short-lived existence; some were created and disintegrated literally before the eyes of the researcher. And, most importantly, they represented numerous individuals, related to the most varied types and kinds of traditional groups, vividly recalling the "Babylonian mix of languages and races." They included, for example, crowds of people who gathered somewhere on the street or at some location. Along with the so-called "public," these were the first specimens of "non-classical;" i.e., non-group types of human communities historically identified by bourgeois sociology ((G. Tard), (G. Lebon), (Sh. Sigele), (N. Mikhaylovskiy), and others). Their most important trait, besides those named, was that they were the bearers of a special, specific type of social consciousness, which did not coincide with the numerous types of group consciousness, and as a result was termed "mass consciousness."

Unfortunately, the "crowd" phenomenon, due to its general poverty and the expressed specific nature of its characteristics, as well as the extremely limited area of its action, did not provide an opportunity for a proper assessment of the true meaning of the broader subject revealed by sociology, and to see its true boundaries and its relationship with the life of society as a whole and with the functioning of social consciousness in particular. Moreover, the first researchers of "crowds," "the public," and similar groupings (primarily as a result of their frankly anti-national class positions, as well as the general lack of development at that time of the methodological research apparatus and the absence of reliable, experimentally verified data) from the very outset began to analyze the subject in the wrong direction. The non-group nature of the communities which they identified was not specifically comprehended. As a result, they completely lost sight of the priority task of drawing the main boundaries between a crowd (the public, etc.) and "classical" groups, in particular (primarily) social groups, and the actually very narrow phenomenon of the crowd in terms of its real "place" in the life of society came to be interpreted much too broadly and identified with the mass as such, with huge sectors in the social structure (the working classes, nations), and even with society as a whole. Many specific characterizations of the communities that were examined, among which negative, disruptive, and "destructive of the individual" traits clearly prevailed, received entirely inadequate descriptions and evaluations, to a large extent under the influence of the indicated ideological precepts. As a result, "this method of perceiving social reality led to reactionary conclusions, when the term 'crowd' was put in place of the social-political category 'popular

masses,' and when the revolutionary mass movement was typified according to the structure developed during observation of the action of a spontaneous mob, reactionary rabble, or a bigoted, narrow audience."<sup>1</sup>

In fairness it should be said that the works of (Tard), (Lebon) and other early bourgeois sociologists and social psychologists who studied "non-classical" communities contained many correct observations and conclusions. In particular, the statement that these communities unite individuals who are characterized by various social stations and belong to various nations, professions, ages, etc., was accurate. An especially large number of productive judgments was made concerning specific mechanisms of consciousness operating within the framework of a crowd; in particular those related to the phenomena of imitation, contagion, suggestion, etc. However, these postulates and conclusions did not occupy their proper place in the overall concept, and were drowned in a mass of false statements, including some which completely negated them. As a result, this budding analytical direction in later years received no positive development, and became a subject of sharp scientific criticism or ideological speculations which were most unscientific.

Meanwhile, life, as the saying goes, had its effect. The tempestuous social, economic, political, and cultural processes in 20th Century societies literally every day brought ever newer examples of the emergence and action of "non-classical" communities. In this regard, they no longer concerned just a crowd or the public (e.g., the newspaper readers that Tadr discussed), but an extremely broad series of the most diverse groupings of people, including some which were rather stable and demonstrated joint but not group behavior, as well as a special type of social, but not group, consciousness, which lay behind this behavior.

Among these various size groupings there began to figure in all types of societies, without exception, participants in varied mass political and socio-cultural movements (for example, protection of the environment, protest against some imperialist action or another, the struggle for peace and elimination of the nuclear danger, etc.); audiences of various means and channels of mass information; consumers of particular goods and services (especially "socially colored" -- prestige, fashionable, etc.); members of numerous amateur (interest oriented) associations and "clubs;" and fans of football teams and movie stars. But, of course, a special place in this rank (both in terms of scale and universality of its importance, and vividness of its 'non-group' characteristics) began to be occupied by various "sectors" of so-called society, serving as the bearers of broad public opinion (for example, functioning within the borders of individual states, as well as beyond).

The latter, I believe, confronted social science as no other similar development with the fact that there exist in society not only various traditional groups with their inherent defined group types of social consciousness, but also certain unknown, undefined types of social consciousness, belonging to no less undefined (and extremely "unexpected," especially under conditions of antagonistic classes in societies) collections of individuals, uniting representatives of various groups, but at the same time not being group-like in nature. It is understandable that this fact

required careful examination, with respect both to the "non-classical" forms of consciousness which it revealed, and to the "non-classical" communities themselves which lay behind them. As a result, science again (during the present stage of societal development) confronted a problem with which (Tard), (Lebon) and their followers did not deal in their day. And although the changed social practice gave the researchers other, incomparably richer opportunities to comprehend and solve the problem adequately, alas, many questions remain unanswered as before. These include the main question related to differentiating between groups, strictly speaking, and masses, and to a reliable definition of the mass phenomena.

As for contemporary bourgeois sociology, back in the pre-war years it had already reached an obvious blind alley in attempting to solve this problem, being unable to overcome its inherent gnosiological and social defects -- the inability to analyze the dialectic of social relations, as well as a conscious or unconscious ideological affinity for and adherence to the interests of the ruling classes.

With respect to our topic, both these defects were clearly manifested in that the phenomenon of the mass was declared an attribute of so-called mass society, and began to be examined as a historical alternative to classes and other social strata and societal groups. Assessing the nature of masses from various ideological positions -- openly anti-democratic, which include direct slander against the working masses, identifying them with the dark, undeveloped "rabble," or "crowd" which is incapable of development ((Ya. Burkhardt), (G. Lebon), (Kh. Ortega-i-Gasset)); social-critical, which view the masses as a negative outcome of modern, anti-humanistic capitalist society (E. Fromm, (D. Rismen), R. Mills, G. Marcuse); or positivist, which link the phenomenon of the mass with scientific-technical progress and the activity of the mass information and propaganda media ((G. Blumer), (E. Shilz), (Don Martindale), (Zh. Elyul')), etc. -- bourgeois sociologists invariably insist that "mass society," and the masses supposedly are replacing class society and classes, and doing away with the latter.

Such a rigid link between the phenomenon of the masses and the various concepts of "mass society" -- by these brilliant specimens of modern science fiction -- had a most pernicious effect on this most interesting subject. On the one hand, it confronted bourgeois researchers of all types with truly insurmountable obstacles to conducting a strictly scientific and objective analysis of the phenomenon, disclosing its true nature and the real mechanisms for its emergence and functioning, and discerning its actual attributes and the role which it plays in the life of society. On the other hand, a great multiplicity of all sorts of "theoretical" and ideological rubbish and various kinds of narrow nonsense accumulated around the problem of the masses. The outward manifestation of this circumstance was depressing ambiguity in the term "mass" itself, incompatible with scientific criteria. According to (D. Bell), for example, there exist as a minimum five various interpretations in contemporary Western literature. In some cases mass is understood as "an undifferentiated large number," and a heterogenous audience of mass communications media, in contrast to relatively homogenous segments of society (G. Blumer); in others it is "the judgment of incompetents," the low quality of modern civilization, which is the result of the weakening of the leading

positions of an enlightened elite (Kh. Ortega-i- Gasset); in others it is a "mechanized society," in which man is the appendage of the machine, and the dehumanized element of technology (Fr. G. Yuenger); in still others a "bureaucratic society," distinguished by a widely fragmented organization, in which decision making is concentrated exclusively at the highest echelons of the hierarchy ((G. Zimmel'), (M. Beber), (K. Mannheim)); and finally, in the fifth meaning, a "crowd," is a society characterized by the absence of difference, by monotony, purposelessness, alienation and a lack of integration ((E. Lederer), H. Arendt)<sup>3</sup>

The fate of the analysis of the phenomenon of the mass was no less dramatic within the framework of Marxist science. As is known, the founders of Marxism were most actively engaged in such analysis, and extensively used the concept of "the mass" in their works. In accordance with the materialistic concept of history which they worked out, they resolutely insisted that when studying the moving forces of history, "it is necessary to have in mind not so much the motivation of individuals, even the most prominent, as it is those motivations which mobilize large masses of people, entire nations...,"<sup>4</sup> and that, "along with the founders of historical action there will ...also grow the size of the mass whose business it is."<sup>5</sup> Lenin paid especially great attention to this problem, most importantly in the sphere of the political activity of the masses and their participation in the revolutionary transformation of society.<sup>6</sup> "It is necessary to give all one's efforts to collecting, checking and studying," he demanded, "...objective data concerning the behavior and frame of mind not of individual persons and groups, but of masses...;"<sup>7</sup> and "...it is necessary to learn to approach the masses especially patiently and cautiously, in order to be able to understand the special features and unique psychological traits of each strata, profession, etc., of this mass;"<sup>8</sup> and "...to live in the thicket of the worker's life, know it backwards and forwards, and be able to determine flawlessly on any question, and at any moment, the frame of mind of the mass and its true needs, desires and thoughts, and be able to determine, without a shade of false idealization, the degree of its consciousness and strength of the influence of given prejudices and survivals from past ages, and be able to win the unlimited trust of the mass by a comradely attitude toward it and attentive satisfaction of its needs."<sup>9</sup>

It would seem that in such a situation numerous research efforts into this subject would have been made in Marxist philosophy and sociology, and scrupulous study of all aspects of the existence and functioning of the phenomenon of mass as a specific, independent subject of historical and social action, not coinciding with social classes and other groups already known to science. Unfortunately, for many objective and subjective reasons, this did not take place. The brilliant example given by (A. Gramsci) in his "Tyuremnykh tetradyakh" received no appreciable continuation and development, and since the 1930's this problem as specified was practically lost from sight by Marxists, and ended up given over entirely to bourgeois social science. Two decades later, confronted with the subject distorted past the point of recognition in the mirror of numerous concepts of "mass society," many Marxist researchers called the phenomenon of mass a "chimera," or ill-intentioned "invention" of bourgeois sociologists and political scientists, thus throwing the baby out with the bath water. "...The mass as a social phenomenon does

not exist," wrote, for example, (G. Gibsh) and (M. Forverg), authors of the book, "An Introduction to Marxist Social Psychology," frequently published in the GDR, and published in Moscow in 1972. "The concept of the mass as a social phenomenon has no meaning, since it has no characteristics other than transitory conditions introduced from without..."<sup>10</sup> And this thesis, as is known, was most widely circulated in Soviet literature in one or another of its variants. It is true that beginning in the 1960's a gradual and fundamental change in the situation began. Owing to the efforts of G. G. Diligenskiy, A. K. Uledov, V. P. Iyerusalimskiy, the author of these lines, employees at the Institute of the USA and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Yu. A. Zamoshkin, E. Ya. Batalov, N. P. Popov), as well as other Soviet philosophers, sociologists and historians, the purely critical analysis of bourgeois theories of the masses and associated with the phenomenon of the masses began to be supplemented with positive elaborations of the problem, especially in the sphere of examining mass behavior and mass consciousness.<sup>11</sup> However, the majority of researchers solved the tasks as before, without referring to the key concept of "the mass," which led to a lack of clarity and open contradictions in theoretical works.

As a result, the problem of defining the phenomenon of the mass remains a most urgent task of modern social science. In this effort, as is easy to understand from everything said above, everyone who ventures to approach a solution must confront two kinds of difficulties. The first has, so to speak, a subjective origin, related to the "stratifications in the literature," which arose at various times and for various reasons -- the numerous errors and inaccuracies committed by researchers during their study of the subject; the various distortions to please open or more or less artfully camouflaged ideological interests; and, finally the multiplicity of terminology used in describing extremely distant phenomena and processes. By contrast, the other kinds of difficulties are completely objective in nature. They are related to the very nature, the very attributes of the phenomenon of the mass, and consist of the fact that both this nature and these characteristics are in fact very difficult to identify and describe, and are truly elusive from the standpoint of strict definitions. The experience over several decades in the theoretical study of public opinion is a sufficiently vivid confirmation of this.<sup>12</sup>

Obviously, today the main concern of researchers must be to overcome the second type of difficulties to the best of their abilities. And, of course, in this effort the experience in analyzing this subject already accumulated in Marxism must be most extensively taken into account, first of all the basic results obtained by Marx, Engels and Lenin in their study of the processes associated with massing, in the economic, political and other spheres of the life of society. After all, the founders of Marxism-Leninism were the first thinkers in the history of science who disclosed the underlying nature of these processes, as well as who paid attention to the phenomenon of the variety of their forms, which is extremely important in terms of its theoretical and practical consequences. In addition to everything else, they showed that a certain level of development of productive forces, coinciding with the industrial revolution and the emergence of fundamentally new means of labor -- machines -- serves as the initial prerequisite and simultaneously the main basis for the phenomenon of massing, which begins at the moment of

formation of capitalism. They also showed that large-scale capitalist production represents the initial historical form of strictly mass production, and, finally, that these processes, which originated in the sphere of economics, gradually spread to all other spheres of the life of society -- politics, culture, etc., everywhere bringing to life a new subject of historical and social action -- the masses.

\* \* \*

So, what strictly are these special types of human communities? What is their specific nature? Where and how are the borders crossed which distinguish them from "classical" groups?

As existing (foreign and Soviet) literature shows, the most widespread error in analysis of the mass has been and is still the fact that traits which are actually characteristic only of certain (separate, individual) types and kinds of the phenomenon in which we are interested have been and continue to be evaluated uncritically by researchers as being of general importance. It is precisely to this sort of traits that the "chance" and "spontaneity" in which the mass arises, as well as the "brevity" of its existence should be most associated. It is completely obvious, however, that none of these can be included in a general definition, since the majority, or, to put it more carefully, a great number of types of masses arise as integrated formations, in no way accidentally, but completely naturally, and not spontaneously, but, to the contrary, as the result of purposeful efforts of corresponding social institutions and organizations, and reveal undoubted stability in time (frequently over decades). In this regard it is sufficient to cite merely the large audiences of various means and channels of mass information. In addition, the two latter named attributes do not distinguish the phenomenon of the mass, since it is known that certain "classical" groups can certainly also arise spontaneously and be unstable over time.

Reference to attributes which apply only to individual historical, most of all typically capitalist, forms of existence of the masses should also be included in this series of delusions. These include such attributes as the observation that masses are invariably "dehumanized" communities, consisting of large numbers of "atomized," depersonalized, "one-dimensional" (as per H. Marcuse) individuals, etc. This same history has long demonstrated, and in tremendous scale, numerous types of masses which are distinguished by qualitatively different attributes, allowing for and even assuming the retention (within the community) of autonomy and independence of the human "I."

Also for the same reasons, the impressiveness of its size, which is an attribute of mass most frequently found in the literature, cannot figure in a general definition. It goes without saying that many types of modern masses contain a tremendous number of individuals, numbering in the thousands, tens and hundreds of thousands, and millions. Moreover, in some experimental and real situations it is namely this circumstance which is extremely important from the point of view of understanding certain peculiarities of the functioning of the mass. Just the same, the collective aspect clearly cannot be taken into account when distinguishing the general characteristics of the mass as a specific kind of social community. In the first place, this is

because "great numbers" in and of themselves are not at all a mandatory characteristic of every mass. To the contrary, in principle, all other things being equal (in modern societies), a mass may apparently be any number of "units" higher than two. And in practice we meet every day completely "room-sized" variants, consisting of only a few people. In the second place, if one, nevertheless, continues to insist on "great numbers," it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that this concept is highly indefinite, as a result of which it cannot be used in practice to identify many communities as "mass" or "non-mass" (especially those which lie on the "border" between clearly "large" and clearly "small").<sup>13</sup> Moreover, no matter what the quantitative definition of a mass, it still cannot be considered in any way a distinguishing trait in contrast to "classical" groupings, since, as is well known, they also may be of any size (ranging from multi-million person nations to a married couple) and, consequently, at times are smaller in size than any types of masses, and on the other hand sometimes exceed them in size.

Finally, in enumerating various erroneous opinions about specific attributes of a mass, it is also necessary to mention a number of purely transitory traits which not only do not characterize a mass as such, but are not even inherent to any one of its specific types. Two errors of this type seem especially typical. The first, which is shared by several Soviet authors, is the assertion that a mass (as distinguished from a group or collective) is a number of individuals not accomplishing any joint activity.<sup>14</sup> The second, which is at the foundation of the majority of bourgeois impressions of a mass, links it only to the "lower" strata of society -- the common people, representatives of the working classes, "rabble," etc., contrasting it to the "upper" strata -- the so-called elite. In reality, neither opinion has any relationship to the characteristics of a mass. The first because any mass, being a real, natural community and not merely a group of individuals (in the mathematical sense), presumes that the individuals belonging to it are united by some real (if only short-term) social process, are accomplishing some common activity, and are demonstrating some joint behavior. Moreover, the phenomenon of a mass does not arise if such common, joint activity or similar behavior is absent. The second because a most important attribute of masses as products of massing processes which penetrate all spheres of the life of society, besides those attributes already stated, is the fact that they may arise and in practice do arise at all levels of the social hierarchy, without exception, including (most often?) at various "intersections" of these levels. In this, as in other things, Lebon was right: a "crowd" can be not only a number of workers, but also a number of academics.

However, what traits of a mass truly are distinguishing and can give a general definition of the phenomenon, as contrasted to various "classical" groups? In the book, "Mass Information in the Soviet Industrial City," where apparently for the first time in our literature an attempt was made to answer this question, a total of four such traits were distinguished:

- 1) the statistical nature of the community, expressed in the fact that the given community coincides with numerous discrete "units," which do not represent any independent, integral formation as distinguished from the elements which comprise it;

- 2) the stochastic (random) nature of the community, expressed in the fact that the "entry" into the community of individuals is irregular and "spontaneous" in nature, and is realized according to the formula, "perhaps, or perhaps not," as a result of which such a community is always distinguished by open, "eroded" borders, and an indefinite quantitative and qualitative composition;
- 3) the situational nature of the existence of the community, expressed in the fact that it forms and functions exclusively on the basis of and within the framework of some specific activity, and is impossible outside of this, as a result of which it is always an unstable formation, changing from instance to instance, and from one specific situation to another;
- 4) the expressed heterogeneity of the composition of the community, and its openly extra-group (or inter-group) nature, expressed in the fact that in the community the boundaries are "destroyed" between all existing social, demographic, political, regional, educational, etc., groups existing in the society. Correspondingly, in contradistinction to a mass, groups in this monograph are understood as communities characterized by an organic nature; definite and stable boundaries; an existence, independent of any specific methods of activity; and an expressed homogeneity of composition.<sup>15</sup>

It seems that on the whole this solution can certainly be "taken as a basis," as they say. However, on the other hand, it is easy to detect that it still requires certain explanations and clarifications concerning both insufficient clarity of some important aspects, and obvious lack of understanding and incompleteness of analysis, especially in establishing various "consequences" of the enumerated traits.

Thus, regarding the first trait, it should apparently be especially mentioned that it would be incorrect to interpret it in the sense that a mass is never an integral formation. To the contrary, being a type of social community; i.e., some objectively composed formation of people, it is known to have a certain integrity. It is another matter that this integrity, in contrast to group integrity, is completely bereft of attributes of an organic, systemic formation (having independent qualities, not equal to the sum of the qualities of the members of the community), and as such HAS NO STRUCTURE and is characterized as being amorphous. The most that can be said regarding a mass is about some orderliness of its members, for example spatial orderliness (as in the case of an audience at a mass performance), nothing more.<sup>16</sup> Besides all this, this feature of a mass results directly from leveling (in one or another respect) the status and attributes of the individuals involved in some mass activity, and forming a corresponding mass on this basis.

In some explanations a second distinguishing trait of a mass is needed, which establishes the stochastic, random nature of this type of social community. First of all, it is incorrect to understand by this that a mass is an accidental formation; i.e., one which originated without reason. It is obvious that this cannot strictly be said even about the simplest type of mass (a crowd) since for it to originate, on the one hand it is necessary to have some external occasion, an "impetus," and on the other hand certain internal

characteristics, a particular "predisposition" of the individuals found in the given community. Such types of masses as the peace movement, audiences of mass information media, etc., which invariably originate due to the presence of certain preconditions and the action of many political, ideological, technical, organizational, etc., factors, turn out to be even less accidental in formation. Consequently, we must interpret this trait in an entirely different, mathematical sense. Then that which is accidental in any mass will be not its origin per se, but its specific "filling up," its specific composition, both quantitative and qualitative; i.e., the inclusion in it of particular separate individuals. Essentially, we are talking here about typical probability, or, as the mathematicians now say, an indistinct set, characterized by open, "eroded" borders.<sup>17</sup> And it is easy to see that this feature of a mass is the natural expression and simultaneously the result of such aspects of the processes of massing as the quantitative expansion of social relations of individuals; strengthening the relative independence of the latter from many of these relations; the arising of the phenomenon of interchangeability of individuals in many communities; the strengthening of their freedom from the point of view of "entrance" into certain communities and "exit" from them, etc.

In this light is also seems possible to clarify the INDEFINITE NATURE of the composition of a mass, and the "erosion" of its borders. It is completely obvious that in some cases a mass can even be "closed;" i.e., characterized entirely by a definite quantitative and qualitative composition. Many spatially limited, "small," masses are of such types; for example, an audience of a given specific motion picture showing which, of course, can not only be "counted" (according to the number of tickets sold), but also "measured" with respect to any (social, demographic, etc.) characteristics of those present (with the aid of a special questionnaire). In addition, if we examine this example, it is also entirely obvious that the audience changes from showing to showing, and is accidentally filled up with various -- each time different! -- individuals, as a result of which in principle it becomes an indefinite, "pulsating" community from the standpoint of its quantitative and qualitative makeup. Therefore, the system of a continuous, so-called "non-stop" film projection is a most prominent and adequate model of the existence of this type of mass. In general it can be said that as soon as a particular mass is already in existence it is possible in a number of cases to draw its quantitative and qualitative boundaries; as soon as it has no longer formed, we can judge about these and other things only with some degree of probability.

The next distinguishing feature of a mass is the situation-dependency of its formation and existence, which is most closely linked, as we saw, with the INSTABILITY of this type of social community. In discussing this aspect of the matter, it is important to stress that we are not saying that every mass changes in time, or even less that it has a "short life span." The first of these judgments, although it is correct, does not reflect its situational nature at all, but the random nature of a mass. The second is simply factually incorrect. Consequently, the instability of a mass should be understood as nothing other than the rigid adherence of a particular type of community to some specific, always strictly defined kind or method of activity (behavior), and, moreover, the limitation of its existence exclusively by this

framework. As such, any mass is a community which is purely relative, and about which one cannot speak at all without having in mind some activity which it is accomplishing. Thus, the readers of a newspaper represent a mass only as long as they read the newspaper, and they in no way represent a community without reference to that newspaper.

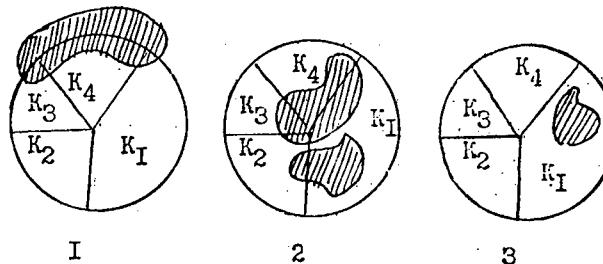
It is clear that from this point of view a mass differs fundamentally from various types of groups. Of course the origin and existence of the latter are also linked with particular types and methods of activity. However, in the first place, the majority of groups, starting with social classes and ending with the family, are formed on the basis not of one, but of numerous various types of activity, as a result of which there arises an aspect of relative independence of the group's existence from each of them separately. In the second place, even in those instances when there is some single type of activity at the basis of the formation of a group (for example, a work brigade), the real existence of this group in no way disappears with the accomplishment merely of this type of activity. The participation of the group in many other social actions is presumed, as a minimum those which are related to various interrelations between the group and various other groups. Obviously, nothing of the sort happens with a mass. Being purely the function of a definite (mass) activity, and a typical "ad hoc" community, it constantly changes its name and appearance, turning out as one thing in one respect and something entirely different in another.

Analyzing the attributes of the situational dependency of a mass brings forth numerous important theoretical and practical problems, including concerning the interrelations of a given type of social community and the individuals within it. In general, as is known, this topic is extremely vast and has not shared the attention of researchers, who from their first steps of examining a mass determined that the "individual - mass" (or "individual - individual" within a mass) relationship differs fundamentally from the "individual - group" ("individual - individual" within a group) relationship. In describing these differences, at various times and for various reasons there were established, in particular, such special features of a mass community and of the interaction of individuals, as a person's loss of individual traits; the individual's lack of control over the situation; the susceptibility of individuals to specific methods of influence, such as contagion, suggestion, etc. To what extent in reality all these attributes are characteristic of all masses and not only individual types and kinds is a big question, which requires specialized, including experimental study. And it is not unique within the framework of examining the "individual - mass" relationship. The above mentioned situational nature of the origin of any mass, which is expressed in the definite relativity of its existence, makes it possible to see here a number of new aspects entirely bypassed in previous analysis. In the first place these are such questions as: Is a mass characterized as a social community by certain norms (similar to group norms)? Does an individual feel himself to be a member of a mass (as he feels himself a member of a group)? Is the position of an individual within a mass characterized by some status? Does the individual here play any social roles? Obviously, examining these questions in the course of further analysis of the mass will help shed light on many important aspects of the formation and functioning of this type of social community.

Now let us take up the latter of the above formulated distinguishing traits of any mass -- the expressed heterogeneity of its composition. At first glance this trait is too "transparent" to require any explanations. However, as a matter of fact it too has its "fine points." They are related mostly to the fact that all types and kinds of large and small groups, without exception, are also distinguished by definite (and at times very pronounced) heterogeneity of composition, beginning with nations, which include persons belonging to one nationality but to various social, demographic, political, religious, regional, etc., groups, (or classes, which also include, along with representatives of all these groups, persons of various nationalities), and concluding with families, whose members differ from one another not only by sex and age, but also frequently by social status, profession, education, etc. On the other hand, any mass, as a real community, obviously also must be characterized by a certain homogeneity -- by some traits common to all the individuals in the mass, and which create the very possibility that such a formation can arise. This means that in making this distinction between a mass and a group, we cannot simply refer to the heterogeneity of the former and the homogeneity of the latter, but must show the SPECIFIC NATURE OF THE MANIFESTATION of these traits in each case.

This problem becomes especially acute because individual types of masses may arise, and really do arise, not only at the intersection of various groups which structure society according to one basis or another, but also within these groups. This is why, when the concept of the "mass" is given a specific meaning in Lenin's works; i.e., differing from the concepts of "class," "strata," or "group," it is used in two ways. In the first it is applied to communities which unite representatives of various social classes and strata (in these cases Lenin speaks of the "laboring mass," "the exploited mass," the "popular mass," the "mass of workers and peasants," etc.). In the second it is applied to communities which include representatives of certain individual social classes and strata (then he speaks of the "mass of workers," the "mass of petty bourgeoisie," etc.)<sup>18</sup>

In making a general assessment of this situation, it seems we can speak of three main models of the origination (existence) of a mass: 1) super-societal -- when the mass arises at the intersections of groups of a given community



Models of the existence of a mass from the standpoint of its correlation with groups which form community S on the basis of k

and other communities (for example, a given society and other societies); 2) sub-societal -- when the mass forms within a given community (society), encompassing all or a portion of the groups found within it on one or another basis; and 3) intra-group -- when the mass unites persons who are related to a

single group, homogenous in a certain respect, which is discernible within the community (society). The actual non-coincidence of these models is shown graphically in the figure, where the shaded figures of the masses are correlated with groups  $K_j$ , which form the structure of a certain community  $S$  on the basis of  $k$ . It is clear that this situation also necessitates that the boundary between a mass and a group be clarified with respect to their "heterogeneity - homogeneity."

Where do these boundaries actually run? From my point of view it is far from easy to answer this question. I think, however, that the answer is not so much that any mass is more heterogeneous than a group (as some groups may also be extremely heterogeneous formations according to a large number of traits), as it is that a mass is always less homogeneous than any group. The latter, as we said, always accomplishes a large number of varied functions in the process of its many-sided activity, and this assumes a high degree of homogeneity of this type of social community -- the presence of a great number of common traits in the individuals which comprise it. For example, it is known that in defining classes, Lenin linked the existence and functioning of these "large groups of people" with such attributes as their place in the historically defined system of social production, their relationship to the means of production, their role in the social organization of labor, and, finally, the methods of obtaining and size of that share of social wealth which they possess.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, nations are understood as large groups of people, formed on the basis of their territorial, linguistic, economic, cultural and spiritual community. And this, in essence, is the case with any types and kinds of groups whose main characteristic, as organic and system formations, is (with all their heterogeneity) namely the many-sided homogeneity of their composition.

A qualitatively different status distinguishes the existence of masses, which are characterized, first of all, in the words of Marx and Engels, by the fact that they "form extremely massive contrasts within and among themselves."<sup>20</sup> The formation of this type of social community, as was noted, is always linked with some single, definite type of activity or method of behavior, and, therefore, even the homogeneity of their composition is always necessarily limited, from the standpoint of the "selection" of traits which cause the corresponding numbers of individuals to unite within them. It even appears that we are talking most often here (in the final analysis) about homogeneity only in one respect, namely with respect to the characteristics of consciousness of the individuals comprising the mass.

In this connection it also seems possible to draw sufficiently strict boundaries between masses and groups in the case of the existence of an intra-group mass (3d model), in particular when explaining the phenomenon of the "working mass," functioning within the working class (naturally assuming that this term, in the context of a given analysis of social phenomena, is not used as a direct synonym to the term "working class"). Obviously, the homogeneity of such a mass, which is objectively distinguished (or separated out by researchers) within a homogenous social group on some basis (for example, from the standpoint of its frames of mind, positions and real behavior in the economic or political struggle of the proletariat), is not so much that it is "of the workers"; i. e., that it consists of representatives of one class

(even less so in that the very differentiation of this community underscores its lack of coincidence with the other "parts," "sectors" and "masses" of the class), as that it is a mass; i.e., it demonstrates a certain single method of behavior and consciousness. An indication that this mass belongs to the working class does not reveal its specifics (as other "workers masses" may exist next to it), but serves merely as a method of outlining the boundaries of this community with respect to its social composition. The specifics of a given "workers mass" must be established in particular definitions, which note the basis on which the corresponding community is distinguished. Is this not why in Lenin the concepts of the "working mass," "petty bourgeois mass", and so forth, are accompanied, as a rule, by clarifications of the nature of the mass, such as "revolutionary," "reactionary," "undeveloped," "dissatisfied," "filled with resolve to act," etc.?

It is important to note that analysis of the attributes of homogeneity and heterogeneity of the mass, in addition to other things, throws a vivid light on the problem of the correlation of masses and classes, which bourgeois social thought so hopelessly confused (or so openly falsified), claiming that these communities in which we are interested would supposedly "replace" classes. From everything set forth above it should be clear that, of course, no masses -- not arising within classes or forming at their intersection -- are replacing these basic groups in the life of modern societies, or lessening by one iota the primary importance of the social structure of the latter. This is not happening because numerous masses are distinguished on fundamentally different bases, and on a qualitatively different foundation than are classes (and, by the way, then any other types of groups), and, consequently, function not instead of them, but along with them. Moreover, the very emphasis on the expressed social and other heterogeneity of masses (as their specific attribute in comparison with "classical" groups) becomes meaningful only under the condition that classes and other groups exist in society not only within masses, but also (most of all!) in "pure," "unmixed" form; i.e., before masses and independent from masses.

It is true that advocates of the thesis concerning the replacement of classes by masses advance this "argument:" At the present stage of historical development of human society, the very foundations of its structure are changing, and in particular those attributes and characteristics of people's vital activity which "earlier," even "yesterday," united them into classes and other groups, are disappearing and losing their importance. However, this "argument" does not stand up against any criticism. First of all, it is in the sharpest obvious contradiction to the functioning of modern societies, which, based on a tremendous number of facts, daily and in all spheres of human activity without exception, confirm the relevance, importance and significance of dividing people into classes and other traditional groups. And on the other hand, it absolutely cannot be brought in line with theoretical judgments about society as a systemic formation and an integrated organism. The fact is that social, demographic, ethnic, regional and other groups distinguished within a society on the bases of k, l, p, t, etc., -- based on the specifics of social communities of this type -- actually structure society in particular respects, so that as a result of their apportionment we always have  $S=K_1+K_2+\dots+K_n$ , or  $S=L_1+L_2+\dots+L_n$ , or  $S=P_1+P_2+\dots+P_n$  etc. In this regard, analysis of the various aspects of

interaction of given components makes it possible to understand and theoretically reproduce society as a unified whole, a system, and thereby reveal the laws of its functioning and development. In contrast, masses, no matter on what bases they originate, never represent structural components of a broader whole. Such a role for them is completely excluded by the very essence of masses as a special type of amorphous, unstructured social community, characterized by an accidental, indefinite composition, instability, and relativity of existence.

Obviously this thesis needs no proof when we speak about the first model for the existence of masses (see figure), since in this case they always fall outside the bounds of the social group, and include an aggregate of individuals belonging not only to the society being examined, but also to some other societies. However, even as applied to models two and three there is no great problem in providing proof, since it is already clear from the drawing that masses x, y and z, which are formed under these conditions within the society on some basis and do not break up this society completely into a number of elements which take up all of its "space," and that they are definitely related to one another and dependent on one another.

Graphically speaking, masses are extra-structural "islands" within the group structure of the social group, and, as E. Ya. Batalov noted aptly when describing types of mass consciousness, they are formations which are not stable, but seem to "swim" within the composition of a broader whole.<sup>21</sup> Arising within the latter for some reason or another, they "divide" it into mass proper and non-mass, so that as a result we always have  $S=X+X$ , or  $S=Y+Y$ , etc. The situation does not change even in those instances when, for some reason "x" (for example, depending on the inclusion of the population in the sphere of action of various press channels), we do not have one mass X (readers of the newspaper in general), but many such masses (coinciding with the readers of individual editions), since the formula  $S=X_1+X_2+\dots+X_n+X$ , is formed here as well, where X will represent that portion of the population which does not use these sources of information at all.<sup>22</sup> With respect to this, as empirical experience shows that some portions of masses  $X_1$ ,  $X_2$ , and  $X_n$  is invariably filled with the very same individuals; i.e., are intersecting sets<sup>23</sup> (which, by definition, cannot be the case with groups, which are distinguished according to any basis  $k!$ ), so that instead of the equality  $S=X_1+X_2+\dots+X_n+X$ , in reality we will have the inequality  $S \neq X_1+X_2+\dots+X_n+X$ .

Thus, in contrast to other groups, masses in principle cannot form a social whole. Therefore, to insist that modern society is "turning" from a class to a "mass" society, and that it consists exclusively of masses, etc., means to revive (consciously or unwittingly) an antiquated view of society as an amorphous, unstructured formation -- the same view which, as is known, social science threw out long ago as absolutely unproductive and completely bereft of any explanatory or heuristic force. Obviously such a regressive course of thought is readily overcome in theory, if solving the problem of the correlation of masses and classes is seen not within the framework of a metaphysical "either - or" contraposition, but within the framework of a dialectical examination of the conjunctive relationship, "and - and," with

necessary consideration for the qualitatively different roles in the vital activity of the social group of the types of communities being compared: Render unto God what is God's and unto Caesar what is Caesar's!

In this regard one must also note the confusion in solving this problem which is present in the works of some of our authors. As has already been stated, its extreme expression is the complete negation of the objective existence of the phenomenon of the mass, and its evaluation as merely an ill-intentioned "invention" of bourgeois sociology. It is clear that in these situations we are confronted with the same metaphysical view of things from a position of "either - or," although the proposed solution to the dilemma here is the complete opposite of that on which bourgeois sociologists insist.

Another type of confusion arises in those instances, especially widespread of late, when masses, although recognized as some kind of independent social given, are interpreted in the terms of traditional group communities, and are directly identified either with groups as a whole, in the first place with those same classes, or with certain (most often entirely undefined) "parts."<sup>24</sup> As a result of such an approach, one of the main specific attributes of masses completely escapes the attention of researchers; that which is related to the expressed heterogeneity of their composition, and their predominantly extra-class (and completely extra-group) or intra-class (intra-group) nature. Moreover, in these cases, as a result of their characteristic absence of necessary definitions, each time it remains unclear what is the actual cause of such "duplication" of terminology, and why authors are not satisfied with the traditional concept of "class," and resort to the additional concept of "mass."

At the same time, as everything said above about the specific nature of masses indicates, such "duplication" of terminology is in fact necessary, since masses, on the one hand, and groups (including classes) on the other, objectively represent qualitatively different types of social communities, which, not replacing one another and not coinciding with one another, exist in modern societies along with one another. In my view, the start point for truly solving the problem of correlating these communities boils down, namely, to recognizing this "along with" (in the sense of "and - and"). It is another matter that the problem is not limited to this statement. After all, masses and classes do not function in society literally "along with" one another; i.e., independent of one another, but to the contrary, are found in definite, highly complex interrelationships and interactions. Therefore, analysis can not stop with establishing the mere fact of their coexistence, but must be taken farther, in the direction of revealing their various relationships and dependencies.

What general definition of masses can be given, based on everything said about them above? Obviously, the following: **MASSES ARE SITUATIONALLY ARISING (EXISTING) SOCIAL COMMUNITIES, RANDOM IN NATURE, HETEROGENOUS IN COMPOSITION AND STATISTICAL IN THE FORMS OF THEIR EXPRESSION (FUNCTIONING).** It can be acknowledged in advance that this definition needs further improvement. At the same time, with all of its shortcomings, it seems to accomplish fully its main function -- it makes it possible to draw reliable, precise boundaries between masses and groups.

As for the shortcomings which were mentioned, in my view they consist primarily of two characteristics of the proposed definition. The first is the clearly incomplete logical analysis of its attributes from the standpoint of establishing all possible relationships among them and revealing their intersections, as well as the complete isomorphism of some of them (for example, the discrete statistical character of a mass and its stochastic, random nature). It is, of course, apparent that the disclosure of such isomorphism makes the definition excessive and necessitates its replacement by a simpler, more economical formula. The main problem, of course, is the extremely general and abstract nature of the proposed definition. It establishes the main attributes of any mass, of a mass as such, but does not contain any specifications for actual, really existing masses, which fundamentally limits the possibility of its operative use in the analysis of particular specific mass phenomena and processes. To properly assess these possibilities one must recall the virulent remark of Marx and Engels addressed to (B. Bauer) and company: "That mass for which criticism is in order was "self-created," as though a natural scientist, instead of speaking about certain classes of plants and animals, contrasted "class in general."<sup>25</sup> In any case it is necessary, each time one embarks upon an analysis of actual, real mass phenomena and processes, to "extend" the proposed formula to the necessary number of more specific definitions, which establish individual types and varieties of the genus "mass."

Solving this last task in principle, as it is easy to understand, can be achieved with the use of numerous various "bases for division." First are those related to such, for example, formal attributes of the aggregates of individuals being examined, as their relative size, duration, spatial orderliness, the presence of direct ties among individuals, the methods by which they arose, the homogeneity or heterogeneity of their social (class) composition, etc. Masses are objectively and sufficiently clearly differentiated in accordance with these attributes (including on an empirical level) into large and small; stable (permanently functioning) and unstable (impulse); grouped and non-grouped; in-contact and not in-contact (dispersed); spontaneous (arising spontaneously) and organized (institutionally engendered); and finally, consisting of representatives of a single class (social stratum) and several different classes (strata) of society. Obviously, taking into account all of these attributes, each specific mass can be described formally according to certain meanings. For example, a crowd is a small, unstable, grouped, in-contact, spontaneously arising, socially heterogenous (or homogenous) mass; a television audience is a large, stable, non-grouped, dispersed, partly organized, partly spontaneously arising, socially heterogenous mass; etc.

Another way to make the concept of "the mass" more specific is related to distinguishing the numerous substantive characteristics of the aggregates of individuals being examined. In these must figure, first of all, those attributes of masses which are manifested in various forms of mass behavior: social direction (or "sign") of the masses' activity; intensiveness of this activity; degree of its organization (in the sense of coordination, consolidation); its outward expression; etc. It was precisely in this regard that Lenin, as we know, differentiated masses as revolutionary, reactionary

and apathetic; active, acting, struggling, passive, inactive, and "sleeping;" cohesive, disciplined, independent, scattered, unorganized, and anarchic; decisive and indecisive, etc., etc.

The next most important aspect of the substantive description of real masses concerns their inner attributes, which are manifested in various historical traits of the individual members of the mass, or more accurately, in the various historical forms of interrelation and interaction among individuals within the mass. These attributes are no longer based on particular individual attributes of separate masses, but on the fundamental social-economic, social-political, sociocultural, etc., characteristics of various types of societies in which corresponding types of communities originate and function.

Thus, under conditions of modern capitalism, with its maximum forms of social, political and spiritual alienation and extreme dehumanization of social relations, an adequate method for the existence of the majority of types of mass is their functioning as atomized communities, or (which is the same thing) as numbers of atomized individuals. Described in terms of "abstracts," as Fromm did, or of "one-dimensional man," as Marcuse did, these individuals are characterized by the loss (within the mass) of their individual characteristics, their unique "I;" and in its place is found a standard, unified selection of all kinds of attributes and qualities -- needs, interests, knowledge, emotion, reactions, behaviors -- accompanied, on the one hand, by an acute feeling of personal powerlessness and an inability to break away from the vicious circle of "externally" dictated models of consciousness and behavior, and, on the other hand, by an oppressive feeling of lack of spirituality, groundlessness and "being alone in a crowd." This is no longer classical bourgeois individualism, based on freedom of thought, but individualization and isolation of people, who are combined in a mass and preoccupied with the concept of freedom.

Having in mind this type of association of individuals, Marx and Engels defined it as "surrogate collectivity," "illusory," or "imaginary" collectivity, which sets itself off against all the individuals included within it "as something independent."<sup>26</sup> At the same time they spoke about true, "real" collectivity, in which those individuals involved in it "acquire freedom in their association and by means of it," placing "under their control both the conditions of their existence and the conditions of existence of all members of the society."<sup>27</sup> It is namely this, according to the thinking of Marx and Engels, which is the collectivity of the victorious "revolutionary proletariat," which represents "such an association of individuals (of course on the basis of by then already developed productive forces), which places under their control the conditions for the free development and movement of individuals; conditions which previously were granted to the authorities which they served and were opposed to separate individuals -- as a result of their separation as individuals, and as a result of their unavoidable association which was created by the division of labor and became, as a result of their separation, a relationship which was foreign to them -- as something independent."<sup>28</sup>

For the sake of accurate analysis it must be noted that these statements of

the founders of Marxism referred primarily to group-type social communities -- classes -- as well as to their separate "subunits," in particular, as we now would say, to labor collectives, functioning under conditions of an exploitative society and after its destruction. However, without any doubt, they also have a broader meaning and characterize various historical types of societies in their entirety. It is no accident, you see, the Marx and Engels spoke not merely about collectives as such, but namely about various types of collectiveness. Consequently, their statements can also be related with complete justification to those secondary (with respect to classes and other groups) social associations, such as numerous types of masses are in modern societies. In any case, the attributes of imaginary collectivity established by the classics are entirely relevant to the so-called atomized masses, and are revealed without difficulty in them by many researchers, including some who are extremely removed from Marxism.

On the other hand, the experience already acquired at present in analyzing masses enables us to reach a firm conclusion regarding the existence in today's world of a qualitatively different historical type of mass community, which, in contrast to the atomized (using the terminology proposed by Marx and Engels), could be called associative, or masses which consist of associated individuals. The "independent," "disciplined," and "cohesive" mass defined by Lenin relates to precisely this historical type. Its most important specific attributes are that the individual here possesses a high degree of personal freedom, both with respect to the very act of "entering" the mass and "exiting" from it, and with respect to his behavior within the mass and the nature of his relations with other individual members of the mass. Therefore, he does not lose his "I," and distinguishes and becomes aware of himself within the whole and of his ties with other individuals.

Finally, in concluding the discussion of possible ways to make the concept of "the mass" specific, and of distinguishing particular types and varieties of the communities being examined, it is still necessary to discuss one more extremely important topic of analysis -- that related to considering the numerous characteristics of mass consciousness. It is well known that Lenin attributed especially great importance to this aspect of analysis, demanding that the frames of mind and needs of the masses, their opinions and aspirations, particular features of their psychology and thinking, their degree of consciousness, and extent of adherence to various prejudices be most carefully studied at each stage and every moment of the development of society. Accordingly, he distinguishes in his works, in various contexts, masses which were "conscious" and "unconscious;" "ready for a revolutionary burst" and "downtrodden;" "informed," "enlightened," "deceived" and "ignorant;" "openly expressing protest" and "mute;" etc., etc.

It goes without saying that some of these and similar characteristics seem to "repeat," at the level of consciousness, objective (formal and substantive) attributes of masses which we have already examined, "mirroring" mass communities in corresponding methods of existence and activity (behavior). However, this concerns only some of the characteristics of mass consciousness. Their other and larger part is not linked "automatically" and unambiguously to various kinds of objective manifestations, and, therefore, cannot be reduced to them, but deserves independent examination. However this, understandably,

is a subject for special research.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. G. Ashin, "Evolution of the Concept of 'the Mass' in Conceptions of 'Mass Society,'" in the book "'Massovaya kul'tura' -- illyusii i deystvitel'nost'" ["Mass Culture" -- Illusions and Reality], Moscow, 1975, p 37.
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3. D. Bell, "The End of Ideology," Glencoe, 1964, pp 22-25.
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11. See, in particular, B. A. Grushin, "Problems of the Audience," PT, 1966, No 10; Grushin, "Mneniya o mire i mir mneniy" [Opinions About the World and the World of Opinions], Moscow, 1976; Grushin, "Logical Principles of Investigation of Mass Consciousness," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1970, No 7-8; G. G. Diligenskiy, "Rabochiy na capitalisticheskem predpriyatiy. Issledovaniye po sotsial'noy psikhologii frantsuzskogo rabochego klassa" [The Worker in Capitalist Enterprise. Investigation of the Social Psychology of the French Working Class], Moscow, 1969; Diligenskiy, "Mass Political Consciousness Under Conditions of Contemporary Capitalism," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1971, No 9; Diligenskiy, "Marxism and Problems of Mass Consciousness," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1983, No 11; Diligenskiy, "Mass Social and Political Consciousness of the Working Class in Capitalist Countries: Problems of Typology and Dynamics," RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, 1984, No 1-2; V. P. Ierusalimskiy, "Mass Consciousness and Certain Aspects of the Struggle of Communists for the Masses," in the book, "Problemy kommunisticheskogo dvizheniya" [Problems of the Communist Movement], Moscow, 1976; N. P. Popov, "Politizatsiya massovogo soznaniya v SSHA" [Politization of Mass Consciousness in the U. S.], Moscow, 1981; A. K. Uledov, "Struktura obshchestvennogo soznaniya. Teoretiko-sotsiologicheskoye issledovaniye" [The Structure of Social Consciousness. Theoretical and Sociological Research], Moscow, 1968; B. A. Grushin and L. A. Onikov (supervisory editors), "Massovaya informatsiya v sovetskem promyshlennom gorode" [Mass Information in the Soviet

Industrial City], Moscow, 1980; Yu. A. Zamoshkin and E. Ya. Batalov (chief editors), "Sovremennoye politicheskoye soznaniye v SSHA" [Contemporary Political Consciousness in the U. S.], Moscow, 1980.

12. "...If we refer to the works and articles of public opinion researchers," indicated Henry Durent, former chief of the British Public Opinion Institute, "we will find little theoretical clarity. (Louie Guttman) in innumerable articles and (Paul Lazarsfeld) in particular in "The American Soldier," are trying to provide some sort of theoretical analysis of this phenomenon, which they have been measuring all their lives. But in both cases their analyses have a tendency to degenerate into mathematical symbols: the relationship within some reality, and in some cases even the relationship of this reality to other concepts are explained, but the nature of the reality itself remains hidden..." (Henry Durent, "Public Opinion, Polls and Foreign Policy," THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, vol VI, No 2, June 1955, p 152).

13. See: B. A. Grushin and L. A. Onikov (supervisory editors), "Mass Information in the Soviet Industrial City," pp 29-30.

14. See, for example: G. M. Andreyeva, "Sotsial'naya psikhologiya" [Social Psychology], Moscow, 1980, pp 161-162.

15. See "Mass Information...," pp 32-34.

16. In this connection I would like to note the inaccuracy of formulations which I used in the initial stage of analysis of the phenomenon of the mass, when, in defining the nature of public opinion [obshchestvennost'] as the object of public opinion (mass consciousness), the categories of "integrity" on the one hand, and "social organism" and "structure" on the other were obviously mixed up. (See B. A. Grushin, "Opinions About the World and the World of Opinions," pp 203-206).

17. In my view, ideas developed in the last 15 years within the framework of so-called imprecise mathematics are extremely beneficial for analyzing the phenomenon of the mass. Being a pioneer in this field, American scientist (Lotfi A. Zade) stipulated in particular that the theory of imprecision provides an apparatus for analyzing and modeling primarily "humanistic systems;" i.e., systems in which man is present (See, in particular: L. A. Zade, "Bases of A New Approach to the Analysis of Complex Systems and Decisionmaking Processes," in the book "Matematika segodnya" [Mathematics Today], Moscow, 1974.).

18. Typical of the first method in which Lenin used the concept of "the mass," in particular, is this statement: "Both the working class and ever more and more varied layers of society bring forth each year more and more dissatisfied people, who want to protest, and are prepared to make their contribution to the struggle against absolutism, the unbearableability of which all do not yet recognize, but which is being felt ever more sharply by an ever wider mass (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol 6 p 128); the second method, for example, is his mention of the multi-million man mass of toiling peasants, handicraftsmen, small artisans and others (Ibid., p 88). In this, Lenin emphasized the dialectic of the historical process, in accordance with which

changes occur in the specific social composition of a given mass. "...The concept, "mass," he noted, "is changeable according to change in the nature of the struggle...The concept of the "mass" changes when the revolution is sufficiently prepared. A few thousand workers no longer constitute the mass. The word begins to signify something else. The concept of the mass changes in the sense that it presumes a majority, and not merely a simple majority of workers, but a majority of all the exploited; any other understanding is inadmissible for a revolutionary, and any other meaning for this word becomes unintelligible" (Ibid., vol 44, pp 31-32).

19. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 39, p 15.

20. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 2, p 171.

21. E. Batalov, "Mass Political Consciousness of Contemporary American Society: Research Methodology," OBSHCHESTVENNNYE NAUKI, 1981, No 3, p 118.

22. For example, in the research conducted in Taganrog during 1967-1974, value X, i.e., non-readers of newspapers, equalled 4.2 percent of the city population (See: "Mass Information in the Soviet Industrial City", pp 217, 234).

23. Also in Taganrog, 73 percent of the population regularly read two or more newspapers, and 18 percent four or more newspapers (See: Ibid., p 229).

24. See, for example: G. M. Andreyeva, "V labirintakh burzhuaznogo soznaniya. Kritika kontseptsiy dukhovnogo manipulirovaniya" [In the Labyrinths of Bourgeois Consciousness. Criticism of Concepts of Spiritual Manipulation], Moscow, 1978; G. M. Andreyeva, "Sotsial'naya psikhologiya" [Social Psychology], Moscow, 1980; and G. G. Diligenskiy, "Marxism and Problems of Mass Consciousness," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1983, No 11, etc.

25. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 2, p 171.

26. Ibid., vol 3, p 75.

27. Ibid., pp 75-76.

28. Ibid., p 76.

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## GROWING ROLE OF WESTERN TRADE UNIONS IN ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

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[Article compiled from materials of various scientific associates, Institute for the International Workers Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences: "The New Stage of the Anti-War Movement and Trade Unions in Developed Capitalist Countries"]

[Text] The dangerous development of events in the world is causing growing alarm to the peoples of Europe and other regions of the world. Never before in the post-war period has the international situation been so tense as it is today.

Ignoring the will of the peoples, U. S. ruling circles have conducted an unprecedented arms buildup and are continuing to deploy intermediate range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The U. S. Army forces in Europe have deployed three batteries of Pershing-2 ballistic missiles on FRG territory and are beginning to deploy a fourth. New detachments of land based cruise missiles are being readied for deployment in Italy and Great Britain.

The NATO session which convened at the end of March 1984, dedicated to the 35th Anniversary of that military-political bloc, confirmed the U. S. intention to conclude deployment of nuclear missiles in Western European countries in accordance with the schedule worked out in NATO headquarters. The actions taken by the U. S. and its NATO partners, aimed at placing a nuclear missile foundation in Western Europe under Washington's adventuristic policy, resulted in qualitative changes in the international situation and created a fundamentally new situation in the world.

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It is characterized by:

- an attempt by the imperialist states headed by the U. S. to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries; i.e., unilateral destruction of strategic military parity, which led to a new spiral in the arms race, this time at a still more dangerous level;
- a U. S. desire to intensify the arms race, not only in areas which are already developed, but also to open up important new spheres of military competition, give scope for the action of various anti-missile weapons and anti-satellite systems, and deploy ultra-new types of weapons designed to strike targets on land, in the air, on the seas and in space, where Washington believes the outcome of future wars will be decided;
- a significant increase in the level of military opposition, not only between the USSR and U. S., but also between all the countries of the aggressive NATO bloc on one side, and the Warsaw Treaty Organization [WTO] on the other, fraught with danger of the world sliding toward a nuclear catastrophe;
- a legitimate desire on the part of the countries of the socialist community to keep NATO from gaining nuclear superiority over them, and to prevent the destruction of parity in nuclear capabilities on both sides;
- intentional blocking by the U. S. of negotiations on nuclear arms limitation and reduction, as well as the creation by Washington of obstacles to negotiations on intermediate range and strategic nuclear weapons;
- intensification not only of military, but also of political tension in the world, as a result of the fact that the political radius of action of the new American missiles in Western Europe turned out to be much greater than their military radius;
- a halt to the dialogue between the USSR and U. S. and the destruction of the entire fabric of negotiations between East and West.

All of this has led to destabilization of the situation, in no way limited to Europe alone. A direct threat also arose to the states of the Mediterranean Sea, the Middle East and North Africa. Washington may use the new American missiles to carry out nuclear blackmail of developing countries which disagree with U. S. policy. At this time the U. S. population has also become a hostage to the unanticipated militaristic policy of the Reagan Administration. The use of nuclear weapons, not only from American but also from European territory, will unavoidably involve the U. S. in a large-scale war. Thus, a fatal threat hung over the life of hundreds of millions of people on Earth, and over everything created by nature and by the efforts of many generations of working people.

However, the greater the threat of a devastating nuclear war that U. S. imperialism creates, the more active the struggle of progressive forces becomes to preserve mankind, as is indicated by the work of millions of participants in the anti-missile movement.

Analysis of the antiwar movement in the 1980's makes it possible to conclude that, after the start of deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe, and the attendant sharp increase in international tension, a new stage began in the struggle to prevent thermonuclear catastrophe. One of its most characteristic features is the advance to a vanguard position in the antiwar movement of the most active creative force of modern mankind -- the working class and its mass organizations. This article examines the activity of trade unions in the Western European countries and the U. S. in the antiwar movement at the end of 1983 and during the first half of 1984.

It is well known that the most progressive forces of the working class were always an active factor in the antiwar movement. At the same time, in a number of developed capitalist countries, the participation of the organized labor movement in the antiwar struggle in recent years was inadequate to its increased role in social-economic and political life, and frequently did not meet the requirements of the actual situation which had taken shape in a given country or in the international arena. Many trade unions underestimated the antiwar movement and did not take active part in it. Rarely serving as initiators of major antiwar acts, they more often brought up the question of their participation or non-participation in the statements of other segments of the antiwar movement. For example, the Italian united federation of trade unions did not take part in the great 500,000 strong peace demonstration in Rome on 22 October 1983; i.e., on the day designated trade union day in the struggle for peace and incorporated within the week of UN actions for disarmament.

The rather passive positions in the antiwar movement taken until recently by a number of trade unions in the developed capitalist countries were somewhat related to the widely held opinion in trade union circles that problems of war and peace and foreign political activity were the business of governments and political parties, and that the main task of trade unions was to defend the social and economic interests of the working people. And the sharp confrontation between the trade unions and capitalists on social-economic and internal political problems, under the deepening general crisis of capitalism, frequently pushed questions of war and peace onto the back burner.

The relationship of the trade unions in the developed capitalist countries to the political parties, both those in power and the opposition parties, has a serious impact on their foreign policy activity. In France the largest trade union association in the country, the General Conference of Labor [VKT];, after the victory of leftist forces in the elections of 1981, for some time tried not to strain relations with the governing socialist party, although the VKT did not approve of its attitude toward the deployment of American missiles on the territory of a number of Western European Countries.

When the decision on "rearmament" was made under pressure from Washington at the December 1979 Brussels session of the NATO Council, it, as is known, received support from a number of social democratic parties, including the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and the social democratic party in Denmark. This position to some extent restrained the development of anti-missile statements by those trade union associations, which are closely linked

with these parties.

Striving to create favorable conditions for conducting a policy of military pressure and adventures, the monopolized mass media developed naked propaganda about the military threat supposedly emanating from the countries of the socialist community. The imperialist propaganda machine is aimed at confusing the participants in the antiwar movement, sowing dissidence and distrust in their ranks, and inculcating chauvinistic views and a feeling of hatred and enmity toward other peoples in the consciousness of the masses. False assertions about Soviet military superiority and equal responsibility of the USSR and U. S. for aggravating international tension are disseminated. This also had a certain influence on the attitude of some trade unions toward the antiwar movement.

Moreover, as (Y. Ensen), chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, emphasizes, under the influence of massive bourgeois propaganda, many believed that modern weapons of mass destruction are so terrible that war is automatically prevented.

As for the right-wing leaders of the AFL-CIO, for whom ardent anti-communism and anti-sovietism have been characteristic for many years, their credo is cooperation with the ruling classes on the main questions of foreign policy. This has decisive influence on defining their international activity. Moreover, the position of the right-wing AFL-CIO leadership on problems of war and peace reflects a paradox frequently seen in history; i.e., that the servants of the bourgeoisie sometimes conduct a more reactionary policy than do the realistic representatives of the bourgeoisie itself.

The opinion, rather widespread until recently in worker and trade union circles, that the arms race and related huge expenditures for military requirements supposedly contribute to maintaining employment at the necessary level and provide a higher standard of living to millions engaged in military sectors, had a definite influence on the attitude of trade unions in the developed capitalist countries.

In recent years, significant strides have taken place in the attitudes of many trade unions in the developed capitalist countries toward the antiwar struggle and toward all foreign policy activity. What are the main objective and subjective factors which predetermined the increased role of professional labor organizations and stepped up their activity in the antiwar movement?

They include first of all the recognition by millions of working people of the fatal consequences of a thermonuclear conflict for mankind. After the deployment of American first strike missiles on the territories of the FRG, Great Britain and Italy, which began at the end of 1983, a sharp polarization of political forces took place in the capitalist countries. The burgeoning anti-missile struggle reached a scale unprecedented in these countries. It is distinguished by its broad scale, by the tremendous spectrum of social forces participating which represent the most varied ideological and political directions and world outlooks, by its growing militance, and by its adamance, and in many instances the uncompromising nature of its actions. The participation in anti-missile meetings, demonstrations, marches and other

forms of mass protest by the working class and the broadest popular masses, including many trade union members, could not help but reflect on the attitude of the professional labor organization toward the antiwar movement.

In characterizing the significance of the great Spanish peace demonstration against the participation of the country in NATO and for the removal of American military bases from its territory and a halt to the arms race, which took place in early June 1984, (Marselino Camacho), general secretary of the Workers Committees, stated: "Although the members of our trade union association undoubtedly comprise a substantial portion of the demonstrators, as they do the fighters for peace in general, it is just the same a part of the general movement of the Spanish people against war. Today's demonstration shows that all strata of Spanish society are united around the working class in the struggle for peace, and this gives it special strength and scope."

The steady expansion of the social base of the antiwar movement, due to the working class and the broad working masses, made it objectively necessary to increase the organizational activity not only of the parties of the working class, but also of its mass organizations, the trade unions themselves. (A. Krazyuki), VKT general secretary, stated: "We, as a responsible trade union force, will continue to struggle so that France will stand in the ranks of those nations which are striving to eliminate seats of tension in the world, and so that she will take part in initiatives which demand the preservation of peace."

The heightened antiwar activity of trade unions in the developed capitalist countries contributed to the recognition by the trade union masses of the fact that at present:

- the real threat to life itself on Earth and to the destruction of civilization has grown immeasurably;
- freeing mankind from the danger of nuclear war is the most important prerequisite for achieving all the other objectives and requirements of the working class and the broad masses of workers; i.e., that the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress, in the interests of the working people, are most closely related;
- not a single global problem facing mankind -- natural resources, energy, food, ecology -- can be solved through the arms race;
- there is a direct link between the growth of military expenditures and the policy of "social dismantling;"
- the militaristic policy and low labor intensiveness of the new military sectors cannot ensure stable economic development and lead to the stagnation of civilian production, and these expenditures create many fewer jobs than do civilian sectors;
- the atmosphere of mutual distrust and reduced trade and scientific and technological ties between the states of various social systems, related to

Washington's discriminatory measures, retard economic development and reduce jobs;

-- more than ever before, it is necessary to place on the scales for the sake of peace and disarmament that strong trade union weapon of unity of ideas and solidarity, and it is necessary to set aside differences when there is such an important common task as freeing mankind from thermonuclear conflict;

-- an urgent need has arisen to combine the efforts of trade unions with other sectors of the antiwar movement in the name of defending peace.

In other words, at present all the rights of the working people whose interests the trade unions protect (the most fundamental right of mankind -- the right to life; the right to work; to better his conditions; to rest; to housing; to granting the workers necessary education, both general and professional; and to social security, medical service and other types of social guarantees) are inseparably linked to preserving peace and halting the unproductive and wasteful arms race. In this regard, the words of (H. Hansen), chairman of the largest Danish trade union of specialized workers, deserve attention. He stated: "Of what benefit will be successes in the struggle for social rights if we lose the struggle for peace."

The new conditions of the class struggle, both foreign and domestic, demand trade union participation in all spheres of public life. Therefore, it seems entirely natural that the problems of preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe occupied a most important place in programs of a majority of national, regional and international trade centers, and moved forward to occupy one of the top priority aims of their activity. For example, the political document, "Peace, Security and Disarmament," adopted in June 1984 by delegates at the Canadian workers congress (the largest trade union association in the country, numbering approximately two million workers and employees) emphasizes that preventing peace and averting nuclear war are now of most importance.

The situation existing today in the world confronts professional workers' organizations with a large number of new tasks. First of all this involves finding its own trade union approach to the questions of the struggle for peace, which would supplement the slogans of other sections of the antiwar movement with specifically trade union demands, related in particular to opposing the negative social and economic consequences of the steady growth in military allocations and the expansion of military production. In contrast to the antiwar movement of past years, which posed mainly humanistic slogans, such as, "No to the nuclear bomb!" and "No to the neutron bomb!," now, owing to the active participation in the peace movement of the working class, trade unions are more and more raising the issue of uniting the struggle for peace with the struggle to achieve specific social and economic tasks.

Thus, in the FRG trade unions advanced the slogan, "Jobs, Not Missiles!," and as its logical continuation there appeared slogans proclaiming, "A Steel Mill Instead of Missiles!" and "Pipes Instead of Missiles!" The General Conference of Labor in Greece contributed to the fact that the country's main slogan in the May 1st demonstration in 1984 was "The Workers Demand Peace and Work!" In the U. S., at the initiative of the large and influential trade union, the

International Association of Workers of the Machinebuilding and Aerospace Industry, one of the most popular slogans among the workers read, "Work and not bombs!" In many Australian cities the May 1984 workers' demonstrations took place under the slogan, "We need peace, disarmament and work!"

Expanded antiwar activity directly in enterprises in the FRG, Italy, France, Finland, Greece and a number of other capitalist countries is a graphic manifestation of the ever more active role of the working class and its professional organizations in the anti-missile movement. In the FRG alone, factory committees are now active in more than 300 enterprises. They are involved in joint work involving social democrats, communists, trade union activists and many working people who until recently stood outside of politics. In other words, these committees contribute to expanding the social base of the struggle to prevent a new war. Trade unions carry out large scale explanatory work on the negative social and economic consequences for workers of the growth of military expenditures, and give specific examples of how the expansion of military production is reflected in employment, price increases and inflation. Anti-militarist propaganda conducted by trade unions among workers employed in the military sectors is of special importance.

The trade unions explain that the number of unemployed reached an unprecedented level namely under conditions of militarization and the continuing arms race in the capitalist world. Trade union activists in the FRG estimated that if the demands of social democrats, communists and trade unions about shifting to a 35 hour work week were satisfied, this would allow work to be given to 1.5 million of the current 3.5 million completely or partially unemployed. To the statement of representatives of the country's ruling circles that there are no funds for this, the progressive forces in the country answer that one way to find the funds would be to reduce the huge expenditures for weapons, which are overburdening the economy.

Believing that the question of preserving peace had become a top priority for trade unions in our day, the French VKT at the end of 1983 noticeably intensified its antiwar activity, paying particular attention to explanatory work in the masses, reporting to them objective information on the international situation and on the true parties guilty of its aggravation, and familiarizing the working people with Soviet peace initiatives. "Each trade union section and each of its members," noted Thomas Douglas, chief of the trade union of unskilled and municipal workers, boiler makers and workers in related professions in Ireland, "can give significant support to the peace movement directly at his place of residence, and help in the creation of peace groups at work, in his district and in his city. On a national scale, the trade union movement must strive to influence the government of its country, for the purpose of starting up the movement toward disarmament."

The changed positions of many socialist and social democratic parties on deployment of American first strike nuclear missiles in Western European countries was significant in intensifying the antiwar activity of reformist oriented trade unions. After the social democratic parties of Germany and Denmark changed their approach toward the question of "rearmament," the major trade union centers of these countries, which were closely linked to them, gained additional opportunities to heighten their anti-missile activity.

The active participation of trade unions in the antiwar movement is contributing to the shift on the part of many peace advocates from spontaneous actions to more conscious and planned actions to halt the arms race. A direct reflection of the increased role of working people and their mass organizations in the antiwar movement are the major political strikes -- work stoppages -- against the threat of a devastating nuclear conflict which hangs over the world. After the FRG, where in October 1983, at the initiative of the trade unions a 5 minute work stoppage took place as a symbol of protest against the deployment of American missiles, on 10 May 1984, work stopped for 15 minutes in the Netherlands at the request of the "No to Cruise Missiles" committee and the leading trade union association, the Federation of Netherlands Trade Unions. In all, approximately 750,000 people took part in this antiwar measure in the small country of Holland.

Trade unions in the capitalist countries, along with other peace loving forces, are seeking and finding new effective slogans and forms of struggle which take into account the existing situation. At the present time, priority is being given to demands to halt deployment of new missiles in Great Britain, the FRG and Italy and dismantle those already deployed. Projects for conducting national referendums, and "referendums" in enterprises, educational institutions and population centers are also being worked out. In its appeal to workers and trade unions in all countries, the world Federation of Trade Unions in June 1984 noted the need to propagandize widely the trade union demands in the area of disarmament, to use all forces and resources to seek to stop the continuing deployment of American missiles, dismantle and remove those missiles already set up, and create the conditions necessary to renew negotiations in Geneva. "Euromissiles -- Get Out of Europe!" -- this is the command of the present day, it is stated in the appeal.

The International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (Dublin) is conducting major efforts to coordinate the antiwar actions of trade unions. From the moment that this committee was created in May 1982, it has constantly grown in size, and today it includes trade union representatives from 29 countries, who adhere to the most varied world viewpoints and views, but who are united by one common concern -- to seek ways to preserve peace on Earth. The committee has begun to organize a large number of important international trade union meetings and conferences, and is participating most actively in carrying out the Day of Trade Union Actions for Peace and Disarmament.

Despite large scale police repression against the fighters for peace, who are thrown in prison and subjected to large fines, the current stage of the antiwar movement is distinguished by an ever greater scope of actions by working people. In the FRG, more than 600,000 people took part in the April 1984 Easter peace marches alone. In the Netherlands, many hundreds of thousands of workers, during a week of actions (6-12 May) expressed their protest against Washington's intention to deploy cruise missiles in the country, under the slogan, "No New Weapons in Europe!"

In Denmark, more than 77 percent of the residents oppose the American nuclear missiles in Europe. In the Spring peace marches, which took place under the

slogans, "No to Nuclear Missiles!" "Yes to a Policy of Detente!" and "Nuclear Free Denmark -- Today and Forever!" approximately 100,000 people took part, representing 240 different antiwar organizations and groups. In the U. S., approximately 60 percent of the American public, according to a recent survey, demand that a stop be put to the nuclear "race to oblivion." Peace actions in Australia, in which more than 20 trade unions take an active part, have reached the level of the antiwar movement in the country during the period of the struggle to halt U. S. aggression in Viet Nam and to remove Australian troops from Indochina. More than a quarter million Australians participated in the April demonstrations alone. At present approximately 80 percent of the mass actions of workers in the capitalist countries are taking place under slogans of preserving the peace and security of the peoples.

The forms of the antiwar movement have become significantly more varied. Along with demonstrations, peace marches, pickets, collecting of signatures and Easter peace marches, peace advocates are organizing national referendums, non-violent blockades of missile bases, and human chains around military bases and government institutions. Mass antiwar demonstrations took place immediately at 10 American military bases in Scotland, including the U. S. reconnaissance center in the community of Edzell. In Belgium, a human chain made up of 20,000 demonstrators extended 16 km around the base in Florenne, symbolizing the desire of Belgians to safeguard their land against the American nuclear missiles.

A characteristic feature of the present stage of development of the antiwar movement is its ever growing internationalization. Thus, fighters for peace from various countries of Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand came to take part in the antiwar demonstration held in Spring 1984 in the Sicilian city of Comiso, on the outskirts of which is a NATO missile base. The international peace camp, created through their participation, resolutely demanded that American nuclear weapons be removed from Sicily, and that the "base of death" be torn down. In Belgium, to participate in the major national protest demonstration in April 1984 against the deployment of American nuclear missile weapons at the base in Florenne, there were emissaries of the peaceloving public in Holland and the FRG, as well as representatives of the American movement, who came out for a nuclear weapons freeze. The U. S. antiwar movement is expanding its contacts with the movement of fighters for peace and against American imperialist militarist policy, which is expanding throughout the world.

True to the traditions of international workers' solidarity, the VKT in France and its Confederation Youth Center in August 1984 sent to Nicaragua a labor detachment of youth consisting of 40 people to replace Nicaraguan workers who had left to fight the aggressors in order to defend the independence of their homeland. The detachment consists of young specialists: metal workers, printers, utility workers, health workers, chemists, railroad workers, power workers, etc. They brought the necessary tools and will give their Nicaraguan comrades needed knowledge and experience. Funds for the trip and stay in the country, as well as for acquiring tools, were collected among trade union activists and workers. "To help the industrial and economic development of Nicaragua in the name of independence, freedom and a peaceful life for the people of this country," stated (A. Gino), secretary of the VKT Confederation

Youth Center, " is also to commit an essentially revolutionary act."

The thoughts of the trade union masses are to an ever greater extent affirming the ideas that the main source of aggravation of international tension is the policy of Washington, and that the USSR and other countries of the socialist community favor peace and are prepared to conduct serious, constructive negotiations to halt the arms race. "I wish to ask," stated (Khenning B'erg), a trade union activist from Denmark, before participants in the international conference, "Trade Unions in the Struggle for the Vital Interests of the Workers and Against the Threat of a New War," "what government has done more than the Soviet Government to implement the objectives set down by the international trade union movement in the struggle for peace?"

Under pressure from the peaceloving public, the conservative government of Denmark was forced to tell NATO that it did not support deployment of the American missiles in Western Europe and had decided to halt financing of work to prepare for their basing. And in Summer 1984 the government of Holland again put off a final decision on the deployment of 48 cruise missiles until 1 November 1985. Under the influence of the great peace march in Madrid in early June 1984, which was supported by 120 organizations, including political parties and trade unions and was the finale of a campaign by Spanish peace advocates lasting many months, F. Gonzales, head of the government and general secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, stated that Spain would not be a member of the NATO military organization. UPI characterized this statement as "a blow to the United States and its allies."

It should be noted that the trade unions in the capitalist countries do not limit their participation in the antiwar movement to the struggle against the deployment of American missiles in the Western European countries. As was noted above, they are giving economic and moral support to the people of Nicaragua, who are conducting a heroic struggle against the open armed intervention of the U. S. and its confederates. They are supporting the just struggle of the Arab countries against Israel and its overseas protectors, and the actions of the peoples of southern Africa against racism and apartheid.

Through mass demonstrations the working people show their resolve to continue the struggle and develop unity of actions and solidarity with all sections of the antiwar movement. Despite heightened disagreements in recent months in Italy within the United Trade Union Federation VIKT - IKPT - IST, in the May Days of 1984 the Italian workers carried out mass combined demonstrations in Turin, Milan, Salerno and other cities of the Apennine Peninsula. However, to this day, some leaders of reformist trade unions, owing to anti-communist prejudices and a number of other reasons, have not yet recognized the objective need to unite efforts of all sections of the trade union movement in the name of the defense of peace and social progress. For example, in the great May 1st demonstration in Paris in 1984, which was held under the slogans of the struggle against unemployment, for increasing the purchasing power of the workers, and for peace and disarmament, the workers held the banners of the VIKT, and reformist trade union centers refused to carry out a joint demonstration in honor of May Day.

Along with general demands about halting the aggressive course of Washington's

policy, creating an environment of trust among states, and halting the arms race, peace advocates in individual capitalist countries advance specific demands, stipulated by the situation in the given country.

Great Britain. The unprecedented scope of the antiwar movement in Great Britain has now become an important factor in the life of the country. In the broad stream of forces opposing the growth of the military threat, a special place belongs to the British trade unions. Due to the place which trade unions occupy in Great Britain's social-political system, the movement's effectiveness largely depends on their contribution. Not joining with other social forces in the antiwar movement, the trade unions are preserving independent and specific positions with respect to the arms race.

As is known, foreign policy problems and especially questions of the struggle for peace and disarmament, traditionally did not occupy a leading place in the daily activity of Britain's Congress of Trade Unions. However, in recent years there has been a sharp increase in understanding by trade unions at all levels, not only of the real danger of nuclear war, but also a recognition by them of the relationship between progress in the socio-economic sphere and reduced expenditures for arms. This is expressed in broader participation of trade unions along with other social forces in the movement for peace and disarmament, in the desire to work out an alternative to military production, and in their own, specific programs in the area of disarmament.

The struggle against deployment of American cruise missiles on the territory of the country stepped up the activity of trade unions in this area, and raised it to a qualitatively higher level. Whereas earlier opposition to the arms race was to some extent declarative in nature, now it is becoming more effective and concrete. This is seen both at the level of the primary trade union organizations, and on a national scale. The 115th British Trade Union Congress, which was held not long before deployment of the cruise missiles began, directly committed the General Council to intensify the campaign against these weapons, in conjunction with other peaceloving forces both within the country and abroad. With these aims in mind, the trade unions are not only taking part in demonstrations, meetings, peace marches and picketing, but are also initiating them (in many cases along with the movement for nuclear disarmament), and giving moral and material support to the "camps of peace." Many regional departments of trade unions are conducting campaigns to eliminate American bases located in their regions, using various forms and methods of struggle, all the way to direct blocking of these bases. A new phenomenon in the trade union peace movement was the participation of trade union centers for the unemployed.

The struggle against cruise missiles is not being removed from the agenda even after the start of their deployment on British soil, although it is acknowledged that a certain reexamination of the demands is required. Boycotts and picketing of U. S. Air Force bases are continuing, but now they have the objectives of preventing any movement of the missiles from the territory of the bases, or even more importantly their use, of making the missiles "non-functional," and of returning them back to the U. S.

However, the opposition of Britain's trade unions to the arms race does not boil down merely to the question of the new American first strike weapons. It is based on a broader approach to the problem, and touches a whole complex of measures and demands, extending beyond the bounds of the movement against the Euromissiles. An important place among them is occupied by trade union opposition to the equipping of national naval forces with the costly Trident-2 nuclear missile system. Since the question of not permitting deployment of cruise missiles was most urgent of late, the campaign to reject the Trident-2 system has not yet become national in scale,<sup>1</sup> and an important role in its development could belong namely to the trade unions. In the opinion of (Joan Raddok), chairman of the Movement for Nuclear Disarmament (DZYaR), the Trident-2 program most graphically demonstrates the relationship between the reduction of expenditures for social needs and arms expenditures, and the trade unions, as distinct from the DZYaR, "can and must show those economic burdens which are related to it."<sup>2</sup>

Adoption of the Trident-2 system has one more aspect which is extremely important to trade unions. It destroyed the country's existing system of conventional weapons production and led to the loss of 18,000 jobs in the defense industry and related sectors.<sup>3</sup> However, the seemingly natural reaction on the part of trade unions to the reduction in employment -- a demand for the continuation of contracts in military sectors -- they do not view as the correct approach. Now, according to the journal, LABOR RESEARCH, it consists of a demand to carry out a policy based on reducing military expenditures and "creating alternative employment."<sup>4</sup>

In their struggle against the arms race, the trade unions are increasing the use of more effective methods of opposing the production of nuclear weapons in Great Britain itself, including the organization of picketing of appropriate enterprises and even the use of "direct industrial actions." It is hard to exaggerate the importance of such actions as the refusal of Rolls Royce Company workers to produce all work related to the Trident-2 program.

British trade unions are devoting considerable attention to the problem of the conversion of production. At the 115th annual BKT [British Trade Union Congress] in Fall 1983, the delegates approved the development of detailed programs for shifting the military industry to the production of socially useful products. The BKT and many major trade unions include questions related to conversion in their trade union cadre training programs. The trade unions are actively collaborating in a special committee created in the Council for Greater London, which is working on the problem of conversion.

A purely British feature of the antiwar movement is its demand for Great Britain to reject nuclear weapons unilaterally. This is the main and ultimate demand of the Movement for Nuclear Disarmament. It has also been adopted as the official position of the Labor Party. This demand also has a large number of adherents in the trade unions. Although at two of its past congresses the BKT came out directly in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament, nevertheless, there is a lack of unity on this question in the country's trade union movement. Many trade union leaders believe (especially after the defeat of Labor in the latest general parliamentary elections), that including the

point about unilateral rejection of nuclear weapons in the Labor Party program not only reduces its opportunity to come to power, but, as (Terence Daffi), chairman of the influential machinebuilders trade union, stated, it dooms it "to eternal opposition." The resolutions of the 115th and 116th BKT congresses do not contain this demand. However, many trade unions, including such major ones as those for transport and unskilled workers and government employees, declared their support. At the same time, in contrast to the DZYaR, they do not consider this demand absolute and propose a number of intermediate measures aimed at curbing the arms race, freezing nuclear arsenals, creating nuclear free zones in the country, etc.<sup>5</sup>

A most important indicator of the heightened antiwar activity of the trade unions is the decision of many of them to unite with the DZYaR. The overall number of members of these trade unions exceeds 6 million. Moreover, some trade unions, although they have not joined the DZYaR, come out in support of its objectives.

There are certain difficulties in the path of coordination between the trade unions and the antiwar movement. Some trade union officials believe that supporting its actions violates the country's laws. In connection with this, concerns arise that trade union funds may be confiscated on this basis. Discussion of this question is going on now, for example, in the printers' association. The leadership of the association of state and public service workers believes that joining the DZYaR will contradict the functions of trade unions. Despite this, approximately 100 individual trade unions throughout the country have already joined the DZYaR, in violation of the direct order of their general secretary. The struggle of Britain's trade unions against the arms race has reached such a level that the fact of deployment of cruise missiles in the country will in no way stop its progress. There can only be a question of modification of certain demands and priorities in their antiwar activity.

Federal Republic of Germany. After the beginning of deployment of American missiles on West German soil, the antiwar movement in the country acquired new traits and features.

Despite an increase, natural under the new conditions, in polemics about the forms and content of the struggle for peace in the FRG, as well as some growth of sectarian tendencies in the antiwar movement, the militancy of the movement, stimulated to a large extent by the crisis development of the Green Party, was retained just the same. Moreover, the abrupt turnabout in the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] position on the deployment of American nuclear missile weapons, which occurred at the emergency congress of the party in November 1983 and was supported at its congress in May 1984, created new, more favorable conditions for developing the struggle for peace in the FRG, and especially for more active participation in it by the country's trade unions, which are closely linked with social democracy.

As is known, the federal administration of the ONP [Association of German Trade Unions] appealed to all Bundestag deputies immediately prior to the vote on missile deployment not to approve these dangerous plans.<sup>6</sup> At the congresses of five economic branch trade unions, which convened in late 1983,

the delegates adopted resolutions which stressed the need for closer cooperation between the trade union and antiwar movements. The postal workers' trade union strongly recommended that its members participate in the 1984 Easter marches, which are the traditional mass form of struggle for peace in the country.<sup>7</sup>

National Days of resistance to the missile deployments became one of the new methods of the struggle for peace in the FRG. The first of these days was held on 12 December 1983. Demonstrations and meetings took place in 300 cities. Relatively new forms of antiwar resistance were also used. In particular, the fighters for peace formed a 70 km long human chain which extended between the major cities of Duisburg and Dortmund. Eight thousand people took part in a torch-light procession in Hamburg. One of the measures closely linked with the first National Day of resistance to the missile deployment was a three day blockade on 10-12 December 1983 of the American missile base in Mutlangen, a tiny settlement in Baden-Wurttemberg state, where the first pair of Pershing-2 missiles was being brought to combat readiness. A meeting in Schwabisch Gmund, at which (E. Eisenmann), one of the leaders of the metal workers' trade union in Baden-Wurttemberg, spoke before 6,000 participants, preceded the blockade. Having demanded an immediate halt to the deployment of the new American nuclear missile weapons, the speaker mentioned the close link between the arms race and the policy of attacking the social and economic gains of the working class. He also spoke in favor of stronger support by trade unions for the present antiwar movement in the country.<sup>8</sup>

In all of these and other measures of the first National Day of resistance to the missile deployments, growing participation by organizations of the working class, its trade unions and especially the committees for the defense of peace functioning in enterprises was noted. Their number is continuing to mushroom, and already at the start of 1984 exceeded 300. This fact alone indicates that the claims of some bourgeois press organs that the movement of fighters for peace, having failed to stop the deployment of American missiles on FRG territory, had suffered defeat, and that the participation of West German trade unions in the struggle for peace was to no avail and they were again completely engulfed in concerns related to their usual social and economic activities, does not correspond to reality and has the objective of disorienting and splitting up the ranks of the antiwar movement.

It is entirely natural that the ONP is paying great attention to these problems in 1984, given a sharp increase in class confrontation on social and economic questions, including those related to the conclusion of tariff negotiations. One must also take into account that some trade unions still do not sufficiently recognize the relationship between the policy of confrontation in international relations and the policy of attacking the social and economic gains of the workers. However, it would be wrong to conclude on the basis of the above that there is a new demarcation between the workers and antiwar movements. The facts indicate that the program and composition of the FRG antiwar movement is expanding due to the ever more active participation of the trade unions. This was also convincingly proven on the second day of resistance to the deployment of nuclear missiles, conducted on 30 January 1984 on the anniversary of the coming to power of the fascists in Germany, which was conducted under the slogan, "Never Again

Fascism - Never Again War! Down with Nuclear Missiles." On that day, mass meetings, demonstrations and torch-light processions took place in more than 500 FRG cities and towns, which showed that the antiwar struggle of the working class and its organizations had risen to a new, qualitatively higher level, and that the ability of the trade unions to carry out antiwar acts along with all the political and social groups working for peace was growing. For example, at the ONP meeting in Frankfurt-on-Main organized on that day, (F. Shtrotmann), chairman of the metal workers' trade union, emphasized the need to increase still further the struggle of the workers and trade union movement against deployment of the missiles.<sup>9</sup>

There are a growing number of activists and rank-and-file trade union members who are taking to the streets along with other participants in the anti-missile movement. The meeting held on March 1984 in Munich, under the slogan, "Trade Union Activists - For Peace!" was important in this regard. Despite the fact that the government of Bavaria, consisting of representatives of Straus' KhSS [Christian Social Union], prohibited local authorities from declaring any territory free of nuclear weapons, envoys of united organizations in Munich called for giving the capital of Bavaria the status of a nuclear free city. The ONP participated widely in preparing for and conducting the 1984 Easter marches and the mass workers meetings on 1 May 1984, many of which took place in various FRG cities under the slogan, "Work Instead of Missiles!"

A national referendum on the question of the deployment of the new American nuclear missiles in the country, which was conducted in the FRG on 17 June 1984 at the initiative of the coordinating committee of the West German peace movement, took the form of an anti-missile demonstration on a scale previously unprecedented. Eighty-seven percent of its participants voted against the missiles and demanded that the federal government "immediately stop deployment and take steps to remove those intermediate range missiles already deployed in the FRG." More than 18,000 polling places were set up throughout the country during the organization and conduct of the referendum. Ties and contacts developed during the trade union strikes to shorten the work week, which took place in the previous week, were very helpful. Together with the striking workers, many members of antiwar organizations and groups stood watch at the enterprise gates in the ranks of picketers. On the other hand, more and more trade union members who had stood aside from the peace struggle entered the ranks of those participating in the anti-missile protests. A brochure published by the coordinating committee on the eve of the anti-missile referendum states: "We know: The reduction of jobs and social expenditures on the one hand, and the deployment of American missiles and aggravation of the arms race on the other, are manifestations of one and the same policy. He who calls the deployment of the new American nuclear weapons an "act of peace" turns aside the legitimate demands of the workers."

All this bears witness to the fact that the antiwar consciousness of the FRG working class and trade union members is growing, even as the missile deployments begin, and that the process of setting up stable ties between the trade unions and the antiwar movement is continuing to develop positively.

France. Under the influence of the increased threat of nuclear war as a result of the deployment of the new American nuclear missile weapons in some Western European countries, and the growing recognition by French workers of the close relationship between military expenditures and acute social and economic problems, especially those of unemployment and inflation, the movement of fighters for peace is reaching new levels in France. Its strengthening is largely determined by growing trade union participation.

The development of the antiwar movement in France is occurring under conditions different from those in the other countries of Western Europe. France does not participate in the NATO military organization, and deployment of American missiles on her territory is not planned.

After the left majority government came to power in 1981, the main attention of the working class and its trade unions was riveted on internal problems of a social and economic nature. As a result, the antiwar movement in France was less massive than in a number of other West European countries. However, the active support by the French Socialist Party (FSP), which determines the country's foreign policy, of plans for the deployment of American missiles in Europe, is of serious concern to French progressive and peaceloving forces.

The French trade unions (the most massive workers' organizations) significantly intensified their antiwar activity and began to use new forms of struggle, which meet present requirements and are understood by the broad masses. The General Confederation of Labor [VKT], the leading trade union center in the country, is playing a most active role in the struggle against the arms race and for peace and detente. The VKT is devoting particular attention to explanatory work with the masses at the enterprise level, regarding the fact that the bourgeois press is not giving objective information on various initiatives of peaceloving forces and is practically ignoring the peace proposals of the Soviet Union. The VKT is putting emphasis on explaining the fatal social and economic consequences of the arms race. "Today no one can deny," writes the journal LE PEUPLE, the VKT organ, "that expenditures on weapons, and especially their increase, represent an important factor in exacerbating the economic crisis, inflation, unemployment, and the deficit balance of payments."<sup>10</sup>

The VKT is actively participating in all the mass campaigns organized by the French movement for peace (FDM) and the new public organization, "Appeal of 100." The VKT membership organizations are making a big contribution in the struggle of peaceloving forces, in keeping with their specific nature. For example, the general alliance of engineers, cadres and technicians helps to attract the technical intelligentsia into the antiwar movement. Its representatives worked hard to conduct the successful meeting of the intelligentsia for peace and disarmament held in Paris in March 1984.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, the trade unions are meeting with a number of difficulties in developing their antiwar activity, caused by the sharp political struggle of the right and left wing forces in the country and the anti-communist campaign which is being incited. Thus far, through the fault of the reformist trade union centers (the "Force Ouvriere," FDGT, etc.), the trade union

movement in France is not a unified force in the antiwar struggle. Moreover, reformist leaders began to categorize the increased antiwar activity of the VKT as a "monopoly on peace," supposedly established by organizations "close to the FKP [French Communist Party]."<sup>12</sup> The FDKT supported the initiative of a number of anti-communist organizations to create their own antiwar movement, and with this aim in mind united with the French committee for nuclear disarmament in Europe (KODENE), which united the small pacifist and ecological movements. The KODENE leadership is conducting a policy of "isolating communist ideas in the antiwar movement." This dissenting position led, in particular, to the organization of various demonstrations under the aegis of KODENE, on the one hand, and led by the FDM and the "Appeal of 100," on the other, during the week of UN actions for disarmament (October 1983). All of this, undoubtedly, weakens the peace movement and plays into the hands of the anti-communist right wing forces. It is no accident that the bourgeois newspaper, CANARD ENEHAINE, wrote with satisfaction that there is a "non-communist antiwar movement" in France.<sup>13</sup>

The VKT considers the struggle against anti-sovietism and for accurate informing of the masses about Soviet peace initiatives to be an exceptionally important task. The VKT views expanding cooperation with trade unions in the USSR and other socialist countries as an important contribution to strengthening peace. "We approve of the proposals of the Soviet government, aimed at halting the nuclear arms race, reducing their level, and in the end prohibiting any nuclear weapons," stated (P. Zhansus), secretary of the VKT.<sup>14</sup> The official visit to the USSR in December 1983 of a VKT delegation, led by its general secretary, (A. Krazyuki), was of great importance. In a joint communique, the VKT and VTsSPS [All-Union Central Trade Union Council] delegations condemned the deployment of American missiles on the European continent, and emphasized the importance of antiwar activity by trade unions and the associated problems of unity of actions and coordination of the efforts of all European trade unions. The VKT always stressed its desire for united actions, especially on such a vitally important question as the struggle for peace, and it believes that trade unions may have differences on a number of internal questions and even in their assessment of the international situation, but are obligated to act jointly when dealing with "the preservation of life on Earth." "We can only regret," wrote the weekly LA VIE OUVRIERE, "that some trade union organizations emphasize ideological and political differences in order to reject unity of actions in the struggle for peace."<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, despite serious differences there is a growing understanding in the French trade union movement of the need to unite forces in the struggle for peace and disarmament, and to eliminate the negative consequences of the arms race. Analyzing the situation in the country's antiwar movement after the start of deployment of American missiles in Europe, (M. Gremets), FKP Politburo member, stated: "Trade unions are included in actions for peace and disarmament under the slogan, "Work, Not Bombs!" and this is a new and very important factor."<sup>16</sup>

Italy. After the government of socialist Bettino Craxi succeeded in obtaining approval in parliament of the decision to deploy 112 American cruise missiles in Comiso in southern Sicily,<sup>17</sup> and delivery of their first components began,

throughout the country, the massive peace movement developed with still greater strength. The Italian trade unions, most of all the VIKT [General Confederation of Labor of Italy], also increased their antiwar activity.

On 15 November 1983, the day that parliamentary debates on the missile question concluded, a plenum of the VIKT leadership committee convened, devoted to international questions. Criticism was heard at the plenum addressed to trade unions for their "inactiveness in the struggle for peace," and their "weak role" in the antiwar movement.<sup>18</sup> In connection with this, plenum participants adopted a decision to increase the activity of the VIKT toward peace and disarmament, all the more so because rank and file members of the trade unions so insisted. The so-called mobilization plan was approved with this aim in mind. In accordance with this plan, the VIKT conducted during November-December 1983 a number of actions in territorial and economic sector organizations, districts, cities and regions with participation of representatives from the work places, and the United Federation of VIKT - IKPT [Italian Confederation of Trade Unions] - IST [Italian Labor Union], (YeFP) [United Federation of Trade Unions], outlined for January 1984 the conduct of three interregional actions (in the north, center and south) of trade union cadres and delegates of plant and factory councils (FZS), as well as a conference of the general councils of the three trade union centers on questions of the struggle for peace.

In the six weeks following the plenum of the VIKT leadership committee there truly did take place increased antiwar activity by the trade unions. The most important of their initiatives was the national day of struggle for peace and disarmament, carried out on 10 December on the call of the YeFP in all regional centers. The central action of the day was a multi-thousand person demonstration in Florence under the slogans, "United in the Struggle for Peace," and "Against the Arms Race and the Policy of Blocs." (L. Lama), VIKT general secretary, spoke on behalf of the YeFP at a mass meeting of demonstration participants.<sup>19</sup> The concluding action within this plan was a large demonstration in Milan, organized on 21 December by the YeFP in the Lombardi region. The search by the trade unions for a dialogue with the pacifist committees for peace, and their attempts to reexamine their attitude toward the pacifist movement and toward its role and place in the struggle for peace, and to begin a dialogue with the cultural, scientific and youth forces participating in it, should be noted as a feature of the trade union "mobilization." It was precisely with this aim in mind that on 4 December the VIKT joined the "human chain" extending for 15 km between Catania and Sigonella, where the first components of cruise missiles began to be emplaced in early December. A regional action by trade union cadres and FZS delegates in Palermo on 20 January 1984 also demonstrated the expansion of ties between the trade unions and the pacifist movement.<sup>20</sup>

In late 1983 and the first half of 1984, a series of public anti-missile referendums was organized in city quarters, educational institutions and enterprises in Italy. According to data from the newspaper, L'UNITA, by mid-March 1984 3 million Italians had taken part in them, 83 percent of whom opposed the deployment of cruise missiles in Italy, and 78 percent of whom expressed the need to conduct an official national referendum on the missile question.<sup>21</sup> The plant and factory councils (FZS), the primary united trade

union organizations in industry, took an active part in conducting the public referendums. It is they who recently have been the main force representing the trade unions in the Italian antiwar movement. Their role and place in the movement can be judged, in particular, by the interregional action of trade union cadres and FZS delegates which took place in January in Bologna and Palermo, which discussed the need to expand the struggle of the trade unions on a national scale, using the varied and valuable experience of the FZS.<sup>22</sup> The interregional actions demonstrated the readiness of the trade unions to intensify their role in the struggle for peace and disarmament, and their desire to work out their own ideological platform and their own slogans, and to find their own place in the peace movement.

Leading positions in the antiwar movement are held by the metal workers and their professional organizations: The United Federation of Metal Workers (YeFM) and the federations of metal workers within the VIKT and IKPT. In January 1984, the YeFM in the Lombardi region used a new form of antiwar struggle, the so-called conveyor for peace, with sequential 15 minute work stoppages at metal working and machine building enterprises within the region. Among regional trade union organizations, the United Federation of the VIKT - IKPT and IST in the Veneto region is most active of late among the regional trade union organizations. In January 1984, it conducted a week of struggle for peace in the cities of the region, the central topics of which were to renew negotiations on Euromissiles and halt the bloody conflict in Lebanon. Trade union and Catholic organizations, workers, employees, representatives of the intelligentsia, students and school pupils all took part jointly in the week's activities.

Thus, the events of late 1983 and early 1984 showed an obvious increase in antiwar activity by trade unions at all levels, from FZS to YeFP. The socialists, who had refrained from participating in the most significant antiwar actions of 1982 and 1983 due to a ban by ISP [Italian Socialist Party] leaders, also participated in the movement. However, in January-February 1984, in connection with the steadily worsening relations between the ISP and IKP [Italian Communist Party], which was in irreconcilable opposition to the government of socialist Craxi, a gradual increase occurred in the differences between the VIKT and two reformist trade union centers, the IKPT and IST, and within the VIKT between the communists and socialists. At the same time, problems of inflation and wages, which had stood at the center of extended negotiations between the YeFP and the government and employers, again moved to the forefront in trade union policy.

On 14 February, differences within the VIKT between two of its elements, on the question of its attitude toward the government's policy in the area of wages, spilled over into a split in the confederation. On 16 February there was also a split in the YeFP. These events left a certain imprint on trade union participation in the antiwar movement. As before, communists in the VIKT increased their activity, but now the struggle was developing primarily at the local level, with the masses.

However, this does not mean that unity in the struggle for peace and disarmament on the level of the three trade union centers is completely lost. For example, on 16 March 1984 a major antiwar demonstration took place in the

Veneto region, in which, at the call of the VIKT, IKPT and IST regional organizations, the whole population participated, most of all the workers from large and small factories. The Italian trade union movement participated as a united front on 11 March 1984 in Lublian at the 3d international meeting of trade unions in the border regions of Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia, for peace, coexistence and disarmament. "In the name of peace," wrote L'UNITA concerning this meeting, "the Italian trade union movement came united at a particularly difficult moment, and in a spirit of unity confirmed its commitment to the struggle against all missiles."<sup>23</sup>

Netherlands. For more than four years, Holland has been struggling against the deployment of 48 American nuclear cruise missiles on its territory. Organizations of the most varied aims and orientations (Social Democratic Party of Labor, Party of "Democrats-66," Communist Party of the Netherlands, Pacifist Socialist Party), trade unions, the Interchurch Peace Council, which is supported by all the Christian churches in the country, the Catholic mass organization, "Pax Christi," and various civil organizations and antiwar groups are participating in the struggle. The antiwar movement developed under the slogan, "No New Nuclear Missiles In Holland or Anywhere in Europe."

The trade unions did not join this struggle immediately. This was hampered by the reformist views of the leaders of the Federation of Netherlands Trade Unions [FNP]. Its leadership held the opinion that the federation should limit itself to the struggle for the economic interests of the working class, and that politics was a matter for the political parties. Only in 1982, when rank and file federation members became actively involved in the struggle against the missile deployments, did the FNP come out with a statement condemning the arms race. On 29 October 1983, when a mighty peace demonstration took place protesting the deployment of cruise missiles in the country, the FNP participated most actively. Many tens of thousands of trade union members walked through the streets of Gaaga. In all, 500,000 people participated. Thus, the struggle for peace contributed to including trade unions in the political struggle. As a result there ensued a qualitatively new stage in the activity of Holland's trade unions.

The more pressure Washington puts on Holland, the more stubborn and fierce becomes the resistance to its militaristic designs. As FNP chairman (Bim Kok) stated in a meeting in Amsterdam on 5 May 1984, "at stake now is even more than the question of missiles. It is the question of another policy in the area of security, in which the central place must be occupied not by the possible threat, but by the general and mutual interests of the survival of Europe. It is a question of life."

From 6-12 May 1984 a Week of Actions against the missile deployment took place in the country. Each group of Dutch society was given a special day for actions. Trade Union Day was 10 May. Approximately one million workers, employees, students and teachers took part in a 15 minute strike organized by the FNP. Trains stopped and "entire cities and villages froze." The general strike had the objective of involving the broadest strata of society in the struggle against deployment of the missiles. The powerful resistance by the popular masses to Washington's plans to turn the Netherlands into a launch pad for American nuclear missiles forced the right-centrist Lubbers government on

1 June 1984 to decide to put off until November 1985 its decision on basing the cruise missiles in the country.

United States. The anti-nuclear protest became the heart of the struggle by U. S. peace advocates. In 1982-1983, the antiwar movement structured its activity primarily around this demand. However, 1984 occasioned adjustments in this struggle. The majority of antiwar organizations, including those in which the trade unions participate actively, came to the conclusion that it was insufficient to limit their actions solely to the anti-nuclear struggle. The circle of demands was widened, most of all under the influence of the start of deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe. The protest against Euromissiles became significant in scale. Essentially it began at the end of 1983. American peace advocates (right after those in Europe) declared December a month of massive actions against the missiles. They demanded that steps be taken to remove those missiles already deployed in the FRG, Italy and Britain. A number of American trade unions, along with other democratic organizations, included within their demands one that negotiations be renewed on the total banning of nuclear tests, and opposed plans of the Reagan Administration to put weapons in space. Some trade union organizations also became involved in the struggle against the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction, including the MX missile, Trident-2 and B-1 bomber.

Among them is distinguished, for example, the large united trade union of workers in the food industry and trade, a part of the AFL-CIO (1.2 million members). The executive committee of this trade union characterized the deployment of Euromissiles as "an unquestionable destabilization of the existing balance of nuclear forces, an escalation of the arms race, and a significant threat to any hope for achieving agreements on control of weapons between the United States and Soviet Union." In May 1984, (W. Winn), chairman of this trade union, appealed to the U. S. Congress to reject plans to deploy new MX ICBM's, citing<sup>24</sup> the fact that the country "cannot feed its poor people and hungry children."

In May 1984, the leaders of one of the country's largest trade unions, the International Association of Workers in the Machinebuilding and Aerospace Industry, many of whose members are engaged in military sectors, again spoke against development of the MX missile, condemning President Reagan's arguments in favor of their deployment.<sup>25</sup> Such statements, most of all against the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe, are also made by the leaders of the National Union of Hospital and Medical Institution Employees, the most influential union of medical workers in the U. S.<sup>26</sup>

The struggle against the aggressive U. S. foreign policy is inseparably linked by internal logic with the struggle for social and economic rights for the workers. This relationship has become especially obvious in our time, when American workers and trade unions have to repulse a new capitalist attack against the vital interests and democratic rights of the workers. It is no accident that it was namely the trade unions and black organizations which became the initiators of the campaign, "For Peace and Work," within the framework of which marches and demonstrations were conducted.

In 1984 a large number of trade unions participated actively in the activities of antiwar organizations, which are growing rapidly of late. Among these organizations should be distinguished the American Committee for East-West Agreement, Citizens Against Nuclear War, The Coalition for a New Foreign and Domestic Policy, Mobilization to Preserve Life, the National Campaign to Freeze Nuclear Weapons, the Citizens' Organization for an Intelligent Peace, the U. S. Peace Council, and several others.

Trade unions take part in these committees, associations and councils along with women's, Black, youth, religious-pacifist and other public organizations. Thus, Citizens Against Nuclear War unites some 30 organizations, including the National Association of Educational Workers, the trade union for workers in the textile industry, the coalition of Black trade union members, etc. Participating, for example, in the activity of the National Campaign to Freeze Nuclear Weapons, trade unions work with a broad coalition of anti-militaristic organizations, supporting demands for a bilateral freeze on the testing, production and deployment of missiles and their delivery means.

Operating within the framework of the U. S. Peace Council, which is organizationally linked with the World Peace Council, trade union representatives work closely with a number of progressive religious, youth and other organizations. Finally, trade unions are becoming more and more involved in the activity of Citizens for an Intelligent Peace. This is one of the most authoritative and stable peace organizations, which unites many representatives of progressive and liberal political and public figures, representatives of the academic world and the creative intelligentsia. It set up a special trade union section, and became one of the first to attract the participation of trade union figures.

The conservative leaders of the AFL-CIO are a significant hindrance to broader participation of trade unions in the antiwar movement. Although there are very substantial differences between them and the administration in Washington on domestic policy matters, in the area of foreign policy the ruling circles try to find "points of contact" with the rightist leadership of the federation, exploiting their anti-communism.

In recent years, the top leadership of the AFL-CIO has been experiencing more and more pressure, not only from rank and file trade union members and representatives of local and intermediate rungs of leadership, but also from leaders of several major trade unions and even members of the federation executive committee themselves. After all, can it be viewed as an accident that the resolution of the AFL-CIO executive committee which called upon the Senate to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty was passed by a vote of 17 to 4? It is also no accident that this resolution remained only on paper and had no influence on the practical activity of the trade union center. Time is forcing the leaders of the federation to maneuver ever more intensely, adapt to the changing situation, and at times even join with the mass protest movements. On one hand, Lane Kirkland and other AFL-CIO leaders favor "reexamining priorities," are against the exorbitantly high military budget, and criticize the economic policy of the Reagan Administration, which is aimed at further reducing the standard of living of a substantial portion of the workers. On the other hand, the official leadership of the AFL-CIO to a large

extent supports White House foreign policy, and has so stated repeatedly in resolutions of executive council sessions and other documents. For example, while they help in some antiwar actions of the workers, the AFL-CIO leaders, at the same time, essentially negate these positive actions, trying to direct the movement not toward the struggle against the real internal enemy, but against the imaginary foreign enemy.

In assessing the contribution of trade unions to the movement against the arms race and for a nuclear weapons freeze, it just the same cannot be said that the trade unions are playing a role equal to their capabilities. Realizing these capabilities requires overcoming the right-wing reformist, anti-communist purposes of the union leaders. It depends on raising the level of political consciousness of a substantial portion of organized American workers, who still continue to lag in their understanding of the need for fundamental social changes. However, this backwardness, which stems from historical peculiarities of the development of the American workers movement, must not be viewed as something immutable and solidified.

In establishing that some sections of American trade unions are not involved in the antiwar movement and others enter the struggle too shyly and with reservations, one must recognize at the same time that on the whole the present antiwar movement in the U. S. reflects growing consciousness by trade union masses and many trade union leaders of the fact that military expenditures and the arms race lead to a decline in the workers' standard of living. The demands of trade unions to change national social and economic priorities are included in the content of a new stage in the struggle of the working class, during which a choice in the direction of social and economic development will be made which meets the interests of the American people.

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In our day, trade unions of varying orientations and of different countries are coming to the conclusion that, in the struggle for peace and for a halt to the arms race, they have as yet used far from all of their opportunities. In a situation when imperialism is threatening to plunge mankind into the abyss of nuclear war, from which working people of both class and reformist orientation, from socialist and capitalist countries, communists, socialists, republicans and democrats, non-party people, believers and non-believers will suffer equally, before this threat it is urgently necessary to increase efforts still further in order to preserve peace on Earth. The interests of all workers, and of all those who are called upon to protect the trade unions require this.

Paying particular attention to this, the World Federation of Trade Unions [VFP] in its document, "Today Consolidation and Unity of Actions by Trade Unions are Needed as Never Before," adopted at the 32d session of the VFP Bureau in April 1984, stated:

"We firmly believe that the workers and peoples are capable of broad and decisive actions to solve the most important problems confronting mankind today. But to solve these problems, consolidation and unity of actions by the workers and their trade union organizations are necessary."

FOOTNOTES

1. Right up to the last conference in December 1983, the DZYaR did not view the struggle to reject the Trident-2 system as one of its priority objectives.
2. MORNING STAR, 17 December 1983.
3. LABOR RESEARCH, No 3, 1984, p 60.
4. Ibid.
5. TASS NEWS AND JOURNAL, December 1983-January 1984, p 7.
6. IPW - BERICHTE, 1984, No 2, p 32.
7. NACHRICHTEN ZUR WIRTSCHAFTS UND SOZIALPOLITIC, 1984, No 2, p 25.
8. IPN - BERICHTE, 1984, No 2, p 33.
9. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG - DIE TAT, 3 February 1984.
10. LE PEUPLE, 1984, No 1166, p 33.
11. Ibid., p 32.
12. LE PEUPLE, 1984, No 1141, p 39.
13. CANARD ENEHAINE, 17 February 1984.
14. TRUD, 20 march 1984.
15. LA VIE OUVRIERE, 1983, No 2041, p 14.
16. L'HUMANITE, 23 January 1984.
17. In April 1984, G. Spadolini, Italian minister of defense, made a statement about the possible deployment of even 140 missiles in Comiso.
18. L'UNITA, 16 November 1983.
19. L'UNITA, 11 November 1983.
20. L'UNITA, 21 January 1984.
21. L'UNITA, 16 March 1984.
22. L'UNITA, 21 January 1984.
23. L'UNITA, 12 March 1984.

24. NEW YORK TIMES, 12 May 1984.
25. DAILY WORLD, 16 May 1984.
26. PEOPLE'S WORLD, 7 January 1984.

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## SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC RESPONSE TO WESTERN 'ECONOMIC CRISIS'

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[Article by M. A. Neymark: "Social Democracy in Search of Anti-Crisis Solutions"]

[Text] The growth of crisis phenomena in the economies of capitalist countries has forced parties of various ideological and political orientations to reexamine and modernize or improve their social and economic programs and plans, on the one hand, and to take more energetic measures to better their economies, on the other.

In this regard, the social democrats are displaying great anti-crisis activity. Their searches for anti-crisis solutions are far from consistent. Just the same they are mostly being conducted in directions which differ from those adhered to by the bourgeois reformist parties, not to mention their qualitative differences from the objectives and tasks of conservative parties, which most fully express the interests of monopoly capital.

General and specific social democratic assessments of the crisis will be examined below, as will the special features of their anti-crisis programs, for they, of course, differ in different countries.

It is more fruitful, in our view, to examine this group of questions through the prism of comparing two anti-crisis models -- the social democratic and conservative bourgeois models. A sharp struggle is underway surrounding them, the intensity of which can be judged, for example, by the sharp reversals of the 1983 election campaign in Great Britain. To a large extent the directions for further development to be taken by individual capitalist countries will depend on the results of this struggle.

With all the modifications and nuances of speech, essentially the struggle concerns two different approaches -- Keynesian and monetarist. The first is oriented on state regulation of the economy and state stimulation of consumption, for according to Keynes solving the problem of employment depends directly on personal and industrial consumption, which, in the aggregate, comprises so-called effective demand. The basic premise of monetarism is money, which is viewed as the mainspring in the mechanism of economic

activity. This is the reason for reliance on market self-regulation, spontaneous "leveling" of the economy, and automatic "self-clearing" of markets.<sup>1</sup>

The essence of monetarism, in the words of SDRPSh [Social Democratic Workers Party of Sweden] leader O. Palme, is that its advocates leave only one function to the state, control over the flow of money, hoping that the "invisible hand" of the market will take care of everything else. The serious crisis of the world economy, the growth of employment, inflation and taxes, and the reduction of the population's real income create fertile soil for spreading monetarist ideas, which are actively supported by the conservatives. Criticizing their concept, according to which "state interference limits freedom of the individual," Palme stated: "Socialists are categorically opposed to this. At the 12th Congress of the alliance of Common Market members' socialist parties, which took place in Paris in November 1982, it was stated that they "reject monetarist policy" and propose development of "their own model of economic and political development, which provides employment, equal opportunities, rational use of resources and protection of the environment."<sup>3</sup>

But no matter how different both anti-crisis models are, we should not forget the profound internal contradiction of state-monopoly regulation, which has very definite limits. State participation in the economy and the degree of its "involvement" in economic life are far from always equivalent to the degree of limitation of the capriciousness of the capitalist economy.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, recently some "democratic socialist" parties are trying to find an intermediate solution, with the use of monetarism to one extent or another.

The start point for determining the positions of social democratic parties toward these economic models is how they assess the crisis development of the capitalist economy.

Differences in their assessments stem from the following factors. Of most importance are varying levels of general economic development. The local conditions are different in which, say, the socialists of Portugal, which has not yet overcome economic backwardness, function and the social democrats of such industrially developed countries as Sweden and the FRG. Also a factor is the order in which crisis development has been growing. For example, crisis phenomena began to be noticed in Austria significantly later than in other developed capitalist countries and was milder. In the 1970's, the Austria's economy was distinguished by relatively stable growth rates and low inflation indices, not to mention a level of unemployment (approximately two percent), difficult to compare with the majority of other capitalist countries. Another factor is the functional ambiguity of social democracy as a reformist workers party, as well as its heterogeneity.

Social democratic assessment of the crisis is substantially influenced by its status as an opposition or a governing party. On this largely depends its balance of forces and correspondingly its orientation toward solving either exclusively current anti-crisis tasks or on subordinating them to the long-range goals written in party programs.

As a result of the growing complexity of the economic and social situation, this status of the social democrats has changed repeatedly and correspondingly strengthened or weakened their influence in various countries. After five governmental crises and cabinet reorganizations in merely the period of 1979-1981, the Belgian social democrats shifted to the opposition party. The LPV [Laborite Party of Great Britain] and SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] experienced a "crisis of confidence" and fell from power. After 13 years in power, the SPA [Socialist Party of Austria] in April 1983 became a relative, rather than an absolute majority party. At the same time, the SDRPSh and the SDPF [Social Democratic Party of Finland] again reestablished their governing positions. A new phenomenon in the development of social democracy in the 1980's is the coming to power of socialists in France, Spain and Greece. The PSP, [Pacifist Socialist Party (Netherlands)] which gained victory in parliamentary elections in April 1983, significantly strengthened and expanded its electoral influence.

The degree of radicality of their positions, which determines the place of national social democrats on one or the other flank of the Socialist International, is also expressed in assessments of the economic situation.

Given all the differences in these assessments, an overwhelming majority of social democratic parties agree that the crisis in the capitalist economy, which intensified in the 1970's, is profound in nature and directly affects the basic structures of bourgeois society. Typical in this regard is the initial statement of the Belgian French language Socialist Party: "The narrowing of the productive base is nothing other than a structural phenomenon." Stating that "the current crisis is not a temporary case of the flu within the economic and social organisms," this party gave as one of the main causes of the crisis development of the capitalist economy the "anarchic functioning of the economic system, which is oriented on maximizing profits."<sup>5</sup> O. Palme spoke in the same spirit when he evaluated "the economic crisis as most of all a side product of the crisis of capitalism."<sup>6</sup> The statement made at the December 1980 international conference in Washington, "Eurosocialism in America," by (Y. Den Oyl), leader of the Netherlands labor party, is most noteworthy: "The fact that the crisis which began in the mid-1970's is structural in nature was recognized very late by social democrats. Only at the end of the 1970's did they begin to recognize fully the depth of the phenomena which were taking place."<sup>7</sup> These statements indicate a growing understanding on the part of social democracy of the nature of the crisis processes which are underway, which are comparable in acuteness, duration and scale only to the world economic crisis of 1929-1933. We recall in this connection that the 4th Congress of the Workers Socialist International in 1931 characterized the "Great Depression" as an ordinary "cyclical crisis."<sup>8</sup> The "Plan of Labor" of (Henri de Mana) was adopted by the Belgian Workers Party only at the concluding stage of this crisis. And the anti-crisis "Pontini Theses" which he developed were approved at an international conference of member parties of the Workers Socialist International in 1934.

In the past decade attempts have been undertaken in the West to give a second life to the theories of de Mana, and to actualize and apply them to the special features of the present GMK [state monopoly capitalism] crisis

development. Clear evidence of this is the international association created in 1974 in Geneva to study de Mana's theoretical legacy, which was called upon to contribute to disseminating his "neosocialist" concepts and ideas. The bulletin published by this association in 1981 expressed regret that "under the conditions of the current economic crisis, which is similar to some degree to the crisis of the 1930's, political and trade union staffs do not have a detailed impression about "planning,"<sup>9</sup> (plan concept of de Mana -- author).

This allows us to assume that the lessons of the "great depression" of 1929-1933 did not pass unnoticed to today's generation of social democratic leaders and party theoreticians. Through the prism of these lessons, social democracy is trying to examine the aggravation of the economic situation in Western Europe. At national and international levels, there is no end to sharp discussions concerning comparative analysis of both crises and the as yet dissimilar conclusions which are being reached in various social democratic and socialist parties. These discussions are significant, in particular, for their growing tendency toward an assessment of the crisis atypical of social democracy, according to which it began in the 1930's and continues to the present.<sup>10</sup> It is also extremely important that it indicates progress in the system of social democratic impressions about the evolution of GMK [state monopoly capitalism], and about the possibility (or, more correctly, the impossibility) of its "peaceful" transformation to socialism. In order to imagine more clearly the extent of these advances, we will examine how social democracy previously tended to interpret periods of economic uplift and the crisis development of modern capitalism.

In the 1950's and 1960's, social democracy declared: 1) capitalism had qualitatively changed; 2) it no longer dominates in society; 3) the main instrument for development is no longer capital, but the state -- a force which is above society. In the Frankfurt declaration of the Socialist International (1951), based on the fact that uncontrolled capitalism was being supplanted by economic forms in which the state exercised a regulating influence on the economy and was limiting the sphere of activity of private capital by extending public property in the means of production, it was asserted that supposedly a "new social system is arising" in countries where the social democratic parties were active. The declaration of the Socialist International adopted in Oslo in 1962 was also filled with unjustified optimism. It stated, in particular, that the social democratic struggle had "corrected the worst abuses of capitalism."

A decade and a half later, in 1976, the 13th Socialist International Congress, noting the "obvious fiasco of international capitalism, substantially modified this assessment. The documents of the congress stated that the unplanned economic system based on free market relations had suffered a severe defeat in its attempts to find balanced economic solutions. It stated that "that process of economic growth which benefits only the richest minority is unacceptable." One point of the resolution approved by the congress stated that the action of the market mechanism cannot create conditions for achieving equal rights and fairness.

The 15th Socialist International Congress in 1980 in Madrid, having placed particular stress on the fact that the economic crisis is worldwide in nature,

left outside of the framework of its analysis the fundamental causes and factors which occasioned the growth of crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy. The evaluative aspects turned out to be, naturally, off the mark and abstract for class reasons. Thus, congress resolutions talked about the inability of the existing economic order to ensure the creation of a sufficient number of jobs and a fair distribution of material benefits. The reasons for the intensification of the economic crisis were viewed through the prism of a division of countries, undifferentiated by classes, into "rich" and "poor," and their economic relations. The 15th Congress of the Socialist International subjected the conservative theory and the practice of economic and social development to criticism, declaring that the growing inflation and unemployment in capitalist countries undermined a policy which was based not on planning and redistribution of profits, but on unregulated economic growth, inequality and the elimination of some elements of the "welfare state." It must be mentioned here that optimistic notes still sounded rather distinctly in the resolutions of this congress, which confidently declared the readiness of social democratic parties to withstand the economic crisis.

The error of past optimistic conclusions was directly recognized at the 16th Socialist International Congress, which was held in April 1983 in Portugal. Congress resolutions stated that crisis had destroyed the illusion of a "transformed capitalism." The idyllic concept of unlimited economic growth, called upon to ensure fairness and harmony both within individual countries and in their interrelations, had turned out to be a vain dream.

The 16th Socialist International Congress, having made a notable landmark in the development of the social democratic concept of the crisis, extended and broadened it through an additional comparison, according to which the crisis now being experienced by bourgeois society, in terms of the acuteness of its manifestations, is no longer comparable only with the crisis of the 1930's, but also with the stormy decades at the end of the 19th Century, when capitalism entered the monopolistic stage.<sup>11</sup> The Socialist International seemed to rely on the class concept of the crisis development of contemporary state monopoly capitalism for such a comparison of the crises. But this reliance was not sufficiently extended.

The resolutions of the congress named the following causes of the crisis:

- changes in the sphere of the international division of labor;
- the internationalism of capital, related to the activity of trans-national corporations, which are undermining the economies of developed capitalist countries and do not provide for the economic growth of developing countries;
- the technological revolution, which uses "artificial intelligence," computerization and robotization of production, leading to a reduced number of industrial workers, which in the near future will also apparently strike the designers, technicians and middle level managerial employees;
- the practical application of monetarist ideas; ever greater use of investment resources taken out of the sphere of direct production for purposes of financial speculation; and tremendous increase in unproductive foreign

loans in "third world countries;"

-- structural changes in the economies of the industrially developed capitalist countries, which have led to a radical reexamination of Keynesian instruments of economic policy.<sup>12</sup> The generally negative attitude toward the activities of trans-national corporations and monetarism, the statement of the ineffectiveness of traditional Keynesian methods, as well as the growing understanding of the essence of the changes affecting the basic structures of capitalist society, which are characteristic of this document, define with complete clarity the demarcation line between social democratic and bourgeois reformism.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, the cause and effect relationships which caused the crisis to intensify are only partially disclosed in the document. The basic causes of the crisis are discussed in an undertone. Important but secondary factors are put to the forefront. Their ultimate subordination to the general laws of capitalist production and relations is hushed up.

The difficulties which are being experienced by social democracy, especially by those parties which are in power and under the control of a shattered capitalist economy, increase their desire to muffle judgments about the basic sources of the crisis processes, since disclosing the underlying causes of the crisis would necessitate movement forward, and most importantly, the practical implementation of a radical alternative program to overcome the crisis, linked with prospects for a "break with capitalism."

The assessment of the crisis given by the Socialist International, naturally coincides with, in the main, (or is similar to) the positions of individual socialist and social democratic parties. But each also has specific features. In generalizing them it is possible to establish several tendencies.

The first tendency is a relatively clear anti-capitalist thrust in the assessments of the economic crisis. This is characteristic of the socialists in Spain, Belgium and France,<sup>14</sup> although in the FSP [French Socialist Party] this tendency is lessening more and more since it came to power, and is losing ground to the second tendency.

The second tendency is based on the concept of a so-called historic shift. It is widespread, for example, in the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and the FSP. This concept is based on two main tenets: 1) a new stage has begun in the industrially developed capitalist countries -- the stage of concentration of entire branches of the economies of various countries in the hands of a few trans-national corporations; 2) industrial society has demonstrated its inability to deal with the effect of science and technology on the structure of production and labor, and, consequently, people's way of life. The increase in crisis processes is, from the point of view of advocates of this concept (for example, F. Mitterrand), the result of profound upheavals in the world, which "is dying while another [world] is being born."<sup>15</sup> The idea of a global "historic shift" was a key point in the economic part of Brandt's statement at the 16th Congress of the Socialist International. He stated that the crisis situation is in a state of extreme intensification, as a result of which the survival of all mankind is threatened. He explained its origin as caused by the extraordinary arms race, destruction of the environment and pitiless exploitation of disappearing

natural resources.

The third tendency boils down to explaining crisis phenomena as the effect of predominantly specific local factors, exacerbated by unfavorable world economic conditions. An extreme expression of this tendency is found in the PSP [Portuguese Socialist Party], which asserts that the main cause of the economic crisis in Portugal was "destruction of the market system," as well as the redistribution of profits and property, which took place during the course of the 1974-1975 revolution.

In other words, assessments of the economic crisis vary tremendously, from critically anti-capitalist to clearly pro-capitalist.

This range of assessments also predetermines the dissimilarities of alternative anti-crisis projects. Nevertheless, these projects have a certain common basis. They are formed from an eight point program, written in the resolutions of the 16th Congress of the Socialist International. These points are:

- increasing economic activity and reducing the level of unemployment and inflation, striving to provide a new international economic system,<sup>16</sup> solid relations between North and South (a special feature of this point is its emphasis on the "moral imperative" and only thereafter on the "economic need");
- economic democracy as the path to increasing labor productivity and, simultaneously, a more fair distribution of power; democratic planning;
- a policy of industrial investments aimed at protecting the environment, obtaining new sources of energy, developing the infrastructure, expanding housing construction, etc.;
- creation of a new international currency and financial system, stabilization of currency relations and establishment of control over fluctuations in discount rates;
- redistribution of wealth and profits (it is noteworthy that attention is focused on the need to use part of the funds saved as a result of technical progress, not to provide work for those who were displaced from production as a result of technical progress, but to guarantee profits);
- elimination of discrimination against women, youth and national minorities, which intensified during the crisis, and granting them full civil, social, economic and political rights to increase the productive forces of society;
- shortening the work week;
- increasing the role of the Socialist International in coordinating the anti-crisis strategy of the social democratic parties<sup>17</sup> (the freedom of action of parties belonging to this organization is emphasized through the qualification that this coordination must be "democratic" and "voluntary"). Despite all the importance of the problems posed here, which in a number of

cases included outlines of ways to solve them (although general in nature), the limitation of the anti-crisis platform of the Socialist International is entirely obvious. This is recognized by its leaders themselves. Willie Brandt, its chairman, frankly expressed doubt at the 16th SI Congress, that international social democracy has an integrated and constructive program for overcoming the crisis. He acknowledged that it had merely "partial answers."<sup>18</sup>

Comparison of the "partial answers" with the recommendations worked out by the heads of the socialist and social democratic governments at a May 1983 Paris conference especially devoted to discussing the problems of overcoming the economic crisis, indicates a lack of balance in the positions of social democracy in developing anti-crisis plans. If we reduce the recommendations of the conference to their common denominator, it will become clear that Keynesian methods of economic activity are still at their root.

Priority orientation on coordinated management of demand as one of the main elements of the Keynesian model did not change in the main. It is important to emphasize that the effectiveness of demand is related to the need to reduce the level of profits, primarily in the U. S. Conference resolutions stated that reducing its imposing budget deficit, which is leading to an excessive increase in discount rates and in the strength of the dollar, is mandatory for economic improvement and for the struggle against inflation.

In contrast to the anti-crisis program of the 16th SI Conference, in which the problem of unemployment was in the forefront, the resolutions of this conference on employment policy were given second priority, although it also recognized that it "must occupy a central place in the global strategy for overcoming the crisis."<sup>19</sup> It recommends that industrial structures be modernized as an important means of struggling with inflation, and also demanded the end to the unjustified repeated increase in the value of the dollar, so that the currencies of various countries come to reflect the real competitive capabilities of their national economies. Conference participants supported the position that the granting of aid by the International Monetary Fund to countries in need would in no way influence their political and economic policies, and called for a struggle against protectionism and inadequate trade with the developing countries, and for renewing the structures of cooperation between "North and South." In addition, they devoted great attention to economic relations with the socialist countries.

In light of the above information, what is the anti-monopolistic potential of the anti-crisis alternative programs proposed and implemented by social democracy? There cannot be a single answer to this question, as the spectrum of these programs is broad and even includes completely opposing positions. A number of parties link these programs, at least verbally, with long-term social democratic objectives and tasks, and with its stated strategy of a "break with capitalism."

There is still another anti-crisis alternative position, where the PSP, in particular, is found. This party directly links its plans to restoration of the free market mechanism, which was disrupted during the revolution, and to development of a favorable climate for foreign capital.

Nevertheless, on the whole, in contrast to conservative bourgeois forces who set their hopes on the spontaneity of the market itself putting everything in its place, social democracy continues to be oriented on acting to limit the power of big capital. Thus, the congress of the Belgian French language socialist party, held in 1982 under the slogan, "To Renew and to Act," called for implementation of a radical reform of holdings, assuming the establishment of state control over their activity and substantial extension of the autonomy of their industrial branches, which play a key role in regional economic development, and the nationalization of holdings in the energy sector.<sup>20</sup> The FSP was first among the SI parties to almost completely (85 percent) put the credit sphere under state control.<sup>21</sup> The FSP nationalized a number of major industrial monopolies, including the ferrous metallurgy trusts and the two most powerful financial groupings ("Pariba" and "Suez"). The controlling block of shares of the "Dassault" and "Matra" military industrial monopolies also shifted into the hands of the government. As a result, France became first among the capitalist countries in the extent of state control of industry (22 percent), not to mention the banking system. (Analogous indices for industry are, for example, for Austria 13 percent; Italy and Britain 12 percent; Sweden 10 percent; FRG 9 percent). As a result, half of the share capital of the 50 largest French groups is controlled by the state.<sup>22</sup> The FSP acted in accordance with its pre-election program.<sup>23</sup> The situation was different in Spain, where the ISRP [Spanish Socialist Workers' Party], confronted with a worsening economic crisis, was forced to carry out a reform which was not envisioned in its pre-election plans. It nationalized the major industrial and financial concern, "Ramas," which was on the edge of bankruptcy,<sup>24</sup> in order to protect the interests of the workers employed there.

Social democrats and conservative bourgeois forces have different basic premises in investment policy. In Austria before the parliamentary elections in April 1983, the one-party SPA [Socialist Party of Austria] government was carrying out a policy of preferential financing of the state sector as well as economic stimulation of private enterprises, which guaranteed employment. In May 1981, the SPA adopted a new economic program, "Austria must remain ahead," which proposed supplementing the 10 year federal government capital investments plan, aimed at development of the most important sectors of the economy. The document devoted a great deal of attention to improving the structure of the economy. It states that nationalized industry must remain a strong component of the country's economy. Its main tasks are to expand production, improve organization and combat crisis phenomena.<sup>25</sup> However, after the SPA lost its absolute majority and formed a coalition with the Austrian Freedom Party, which stood to the right of the main bourgeois Austrian Peoples Party, there were certain changes of emphasis in governmental policy. The Freedom Party gained from the socialists some reduction in state sector financing and expansion of state subsidies to the private sector.

The FSP, despite understandable movements, did not retreat from the idea of large scale development of the nationalized sector, its accelerated modernization, and the planning of state orders to firms which followed the governmental orientation. "The crisis interfered with the ability of the state sector to obtain all of the investments which it needed," wrote (M. Dyuverzhe), the French political scientist. "However, state control is improving the industrial sector better than the capitalists or governments

associated with them would have done. The socialists energetically undertook that which the rightists had not done in the preceding decade."<sup>26</sup> At the same time, the government is trying to stimulate the investment activity of the private sector. However, the hopes placed on this are not being justified.

The alternative projects and policy of the SDRPSh experienced significant changes. In the 1970's it envisioned, in particular, the creation of an industrial development fund (the project of (R. Meydner)), increasing state capital investments, introducing a new tax on capitalist owners and increasing the taxation of large properties. The Meydner Project was based on the following principles: the fund must accumulate through profits from companies and be a system of collective participation in profits, extended to all workers; fund capital is indivisible and not subject to being removed either by firms or individuals; the workers are called upon to play an important role in distribution of the resources of the fund.<sup>27</sup> However, as a result of repeated modifications, the Meydner Project lost its initial sharpness. At the end of 1981, a joint TsOPSh [Central Trade Union Association of Sweden] and SDRPSh party-trade union commission prepared a document, "The Workers Movement and Funds of Wage Earning Workers," which discussed the intention of creating regional funds only for those plants having more than 500 workers, which would permit acquiring enterprise shares worth 2-3 billion kronor. It is noteworthy, however, that financing of these funds was to be accomplished not through enterprise profits, but by deductions of one percent from wages, in combination with taxes on superprofits. Subsequently, the cornerstone of SDRPSh economic strategy was the "policy of the extended hand;" i.e., close coordination with the bourgeois parties and industrial circles.

In the 1970's, a plan for large scale anti-crisis measures was developed by the LPV, which counted on attracting investments and on an increase in industrial production. It provided for the nationalization of a number of major private capitalist companies, acquisition by the government of controlling shares in other companies, and the creation of a state industrial administration with the right of control in the area of investments and employment. The Labor Program for Britain, adopted in 1976 by the LPV, and the resolutions of subsequent party conferences which affirmed and supplemented it, discussed the need to introduce "planning control" over imports; realize true nationalization of the oil and gas resources of the North Sea and certain other industrial sectors, as well as the leading banks and insurance companies; to conclude mandatory "planning agreements" with 100 of the largest companies; and to reduce defense expenditures by 1 billion pounds sterling.<sup>28</sup>

But Labor Government practice differed from the programs and decisions of party conferences. One of the main thrusts of the anti-crisis policy of the Labor Government (1974-1979) was the reduction of nationalization and actual rejection of control over private capital. The government tried to provide growth in capital investments in industry mainly by pumping state monies into the private sector, reducing the taxation of big capital, and rejecting price controls. It substantially reduced expenditures on social services and abolished subsidies on food products. The shift to an "income policy" under conditions of high unemployment and inflation caused a decline in the standard of living of working people. This policy led to a loss of prestige by the

Laborites in the eyes of the workers and their defeat in the elections of May 1979, the most serious in the post-war period.

A main objective in the ISP investment program was "revitalization of the South," through a fundamental reexamination of the policy of industrial capital investments, restructuring of the economy of this part of Italy, and creation of central programming organs with expanded rights and prerogatives with respect to restructuring the whole industrial mechanism. However, all attempts to implement these plans were unsuccessful. Participating in governing coalitions, the ISP reduced its radical demands and was limited by compromise decisions, which did not eliminate the acuteness of the Southern question. After Summer 1983, when B. Craxi, ISP secretary, headed a multi-party government, the party's gulf between word and deed became still greater.

The lines of demarcation between social democracy and the bourgeois, especially the conservative bourgeois, parties can be seen well on the question of so-called economic democracy. The bourgeois parties attempt to inflict on society harsh, authoritarian methods for overcoming the economic crisis. A graphic example of this is Thatcherism. Social democracy, as was again emphasized at the 16th SI Congress, favors "extending democratic control of the peoples over the economic decisions which determine their lives."<sup>29</sup>

The watershed between the two anti-crisis strategies, social democratic and bourgeois, is especially noticeable in the social area. A policy of "social dismantling" is now the foundation of bourgeois strategy. Typical in this respect is the current situation in the FRG, where the Christian-Liberal coalition immediately after coming to power initiated a frontal attack on the social gains of the workers, and substantially reduced benefits for children, education grants, pension support, etc. As a result, in 1983 West German workers were deprived of social payments to the sum of 13.65 billion marks. In the assessment of G. Erenberg, former social democratic minister of labor, the anti-social policy of the CDU/CSU is worsening the status of a third of the FRG population, including 13 million pensioners, 3 million invalids and 2.1 million children receiving "social assistance."<sup>30</sup>

Social democracy, on the other hand, strives to retain the main social and economic gains of the last decades, although it does so not always consistently and purposefully. This is indicated by its attempts to redistribute income to the benefit of the low paid categories of workers, raise the minimum wage and provide progressive taxation.

Social policy is the strong point of social democracy, on which it most often gains electoral victories, as confirmed, for example, by the more than 40 years in power of the SDRPSh.

The West German political scientist, M. Schmidt, in his comparative research on social and economic activity of social democratic and bourgeois governments in 21 countries, noticed the following laws. If one judges by state allocations for social purposes, and especially for the needs of health and education, the differences in policy carried out by these governments are very clear: the former spends much more than the latter. In countries where social democrats are in power, the quality of social security is better, the

number of doctors per 1,000 residents increases, child mortality declines, etc. The same is true of income redistribution. Under social democratic governments, taxation policy and social deductions more distinctly reduce inequality in income distribution than under bourgeois governments.<sup>31</sup>

Social democratic and conservative bourgeois approaches to the problem of employment are substantially different. Three main differences can be observed: 1) Conservative forces assume that the high level of current unemployment is acceptable and natural for crisis economic development. (As a result, for example, in Britain after only four years of Tory government more jobs were lost than were created in the eight previous governments.) Social democracy rejects this point of view, stressing that the right to work is a fundamental human right, and that unemployment reduces one's self-worth and threatens his individual freedom. The Socialist International rejects "reactionary economic dogma, in accordance with which inflation can be restrained only at the cost of high unemployment,"<sup>32</sup> states the report of the SI working group on employment policy. 2) Conservative circles justify the arms race by the belief that it supposedly creates conditions for resolving unemployment. At the same time, the 16th SI Congress noted in particular that social democratic parties, understanding the relationship between the arms race and the economic crisis, believe that it is namely disarmament which can free up resources to create jobs. 3) Conservative forces seek to curtail the public sector of industry, while social democrats place primary reliance on that sector in the battle against unemployment. Focusing attention on this feature of the social democratic approach, the SI working group on employment policy stated that under present conditions, "the market mechanism alone is unable to provide full employment," and other instruments of economic policy are required to overcome stagflation and unemployment. For this purpose, "all-encompassing measures of state planning policy oriented on achieving full employment"<sup>33</sup> should be developed, and most of all in the state sector.

If one summarizes the proposals and recommendations developed by the SI working group on employment policy, in the aggregate they provide a graphic impression of the essential differences between the social democratic and conservative bourgeois strategies for combatting unemployment. In the point of view of the Socialist International, full employment is a main objective of anti-cyclical and structural measures, and is so not only for social and economic, but also for humanistic considerations. This objective requires carrying out an active policy of economic expansion, which can be no other than international, although each country must choose its path to achieving full employment, which is planned and selective. In this effort, the developed capitalist countries are obligated to consider the legitimate interests of the developing countries in this area, and to oppose any steps toward a protectionist policy which undermines the economy of the "third world." The activity of the international currency system is to facilitate the objectives of full employment and provide a reliable basis for the expansion of world trade.

The SI working group devoted special attention to developing plans to combat unemployment among women and young people, based on the belief that constant absence of work for youth may in the future create even a direct threat to democracy. Countries having a positive balance of trade and payments have a

special responsibility for maintaining high demand in the interests of employment and production, both in domestic policy and on the international arena. The Socialist International stated that it is impermissible to permit increased unemployment as a result of an unbalanced use of new technology, stipulating that the state is responsible for solving this problem. However, this important stipulation in no way muffled the document's clear call for a social consensus: The introduction of new technology, having the objective of easing labor, must be based, as set down in the report of the SI working group, "on cooperation between the owners and the workers."

To provide full employment, the Socialist International, in contrast to the conservative parties, favored expanding state control over investments, maintaining a high level of state expenditures, and simultaneously -- developing industrial democracy.<sup>34</sup>

Following this policy, the SPA, for example, between 1970 and 1979 created more than 400,000 new jobs and partly prevented unemployment in the metallurgical and steel sectors. Here it should be taken into account that the country's leading nationalized enterprises received large orders from the socialist countries. The party considers reducing the duration of the workday, while preserving labor intensiveness and corresponding wages, to be an additional means of combatting unemployment. The SPA pre-election program in 1983 envisioned allocating 30 billion schillings for a vast complex of projects to improve the country's infrastructure: construction of new and improvement of old highways and modernization of the railroad network. This program had the objective of creating 225,000 jobs; i.e., covering the current level of unemployment, consisting of approximately 150,000 people.

Certain changes took place in the plan developed for combatting inflation proposed by the ISRP in the late 1970's. It was based on three tasks: increasing the economic growth rate; modernizing the economic structure, including strengthening the public sector; and planning. The plan proposed increasing state expenditures to improve the employment system; prohibiting moonlighting and reducing overtime; increasing the duration of study in general educational schools; and developing a system of vocational education, and a special program for bringing marginal persons into the labor process.

After the ISRP came to power, the struggle against unemployment remained key in the hierarchy of party tasks and objectives. But priorities were now different: first strengthening the regulating role of the financial system and the overall performance of the economy, and only then the problem of employment, or "redistribution of work." In its first months in office, the ISRP was able to stop the growth of unemployment and even to create 35,000 new jobs. However, the ISRP was unable subsequently to accomplish its plan of creating 200,000 additional jobs annually. Despite its efforts, the growth of unemployment in the country continues, having exceeded 2.5 million people by the start of 1984; i.e., 19.8 percent of the able-bodied population.<sup>35</sup>

The experience in power of the FSP enables us to trace the changes in its alternative approaches in the sphere of employment. The joint governmental program of French leftist forces envisioned providing 210,000 new jobs in its first year and 500,000 additional jobs each year thereafter, throughout the

course of the program. The FSP economic program adopted at the end of the 1970's retained the first commitment, but replaced the second with one more modest: "100,000 jobs for skilled workers in two years."

The French Mauroy government made combatting unemployment the basis of its economic policy in its first year in power. It succeeded in reducing its rate of growth. According to assessments by the socialists themselves, state aid granted to enterprises which had to close made it possible to save 500,000 jobs.<sup>36</sup> At the end of its second year, changes occurred in FSP objectives and tasks. The program adopted in March 1983 by the new reformed government, and subsequently promulgated "ordinances," designated another main objective -- to reduce the foreign trade deficit. The problem of combatting mass unemployment took second place, although, as evidenced by a public opinion poll (October 1982), 65 percent of the French still consider unemployment to be the main problem, and only 10 percent inflation.<sup>37</sup>

Mitterrand, trying to justify the government's plan for restructuring the metallurgical sector (April 1984), which threatens the jobs of more than 20,000 workers in Lotaringia, stated at a press conference that FSP social and economic strategy had not changed: "It is the same policy, with the same objectives, however, confronted with different obstacles which require different actions to overcome."<sup>38</sup>

Meanwhile, this plan was subjected to sharp criticism from the communists. (We recall that in connection with the continuing FSP retreat from their jointly adopted program, the communists did not enter the government which was again reformed in July 1984.) All of the country's largest trade union associations condemned it. It also gave rise to discontent within the ranks of the FSP itself, including the highest levels of the party. At a session of the FSP executive bureau in April 1984, leftist (SERES) [expansion unknown] representatives emphasized that the matter rests not so much on the metallurgical sector, as in the government's desire to escape, if only partially, difficulties which it itself created. (P. Jacques), a prominent FSP figure, criticized the methods of carrying out the restructuring of metallurgy, and socialist (K. Gu), chairman of the financial commission of the national conference, asserted with unconcealed pessimism that the economic policy of the government was "fraught with negative consequences" and will only increase unemployment.<sup>39</sup> As a sign of protest against the decision to restructure metallurgy, four socialist deputies from Lotaringia left the parliamentary group, and the first secretary of the Moselle party federation left the FSP governing committee.<sup>40</sup>

Like the other ruling parties, the ISP changed its anti-crisis priorities, concentrating its attention on combatting not unemployment, but inflation.

An important thrust of the anti-crisis struggle of social democrats in Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Britain and Spain is overcoming regional disproportions in their specifically national manifestations. The significance of this problem is indicated by the fact that, in combination with the national-communal factor, it served as the original cause of the split-up of the BSP [Belgian Socialist Party] and the formation in 1978 of two autonomous parties -- French language and Flemish. A special feature of the regional strategy of Belgian

social democracy, clearly outstripping bourgeois reformism, is the more timely advancement of various plans related to the true requirements of the country's regional- communal development and to overcoming the crisis in the economy, most of all in its Walloonian areas. Regional organs of economic power, with real although limited rights and their own regional budgets and financial system were created with most active participation of Belgian socialists. The congress of the French language socialists in 1982 stressed that expanded regional authority "must also be accompanied by shifting to them the corresponding mechanisms for managing the economy. First it is necessary for credits to be distributed according to a regional principle, since they are the basis of any economic development policy."<sup>41</sup>

Swedish social democrats actively favor the elimination of backwardness in the northern regions of their country. Central aspects of their anti-crisis program include structural transformations in the economy of these regions; increasing state financial assistance to regional development funds; and raising employment in the public sector and services sphere.<sup>42</sup>

The LPV stresses the need for a substantial increase in state expenditures for investment in industry, within the framework of a regional policy, and including the construction of state enterprises in areas most affected by unemployment, with simultaneous reductions in defense expenditures.

But these parties have not succeeded in achieving any significant progress in eliminating regional disproportions.

\* \* \*

We will make several points in summary.

The diverse assessments and many kinds of anti-crisis decisions not only indicate that the crisis engendered turmoil in the ranks of social democratic ideologues, but also reflects a process of demarcation and a struggle of tendencies.

Attempts to find ways out of the economic crisis stimulated efforts by social democratic parties to overcome the ideological and political crisis which many of them are experiencing. Social and economic boundaries and positions, especially those on which the social democratic anti-crisis strategy is based, became more radical in new or modified programs, reflecting a definite leftward re-orientation of many of these parties.

However, the evolution of the anti-crisis conceptions of social democracy is not unambiguous. On the one hand, retreat from some positions which proclaim "a departure from capitalism" is obvious. On the other hand, some of these positions, despite right-wing attempts to eliminate them, are still retained in the anti-crisis projects of a number of national social democratic parties.

On the whole, the anti-monopolistic potential of the social democratic anti-crisis programs is significant. They substantially, and in a number of cases, fundamentally differ from the defensive bourgeois strategy for getting out of the crisis.

The crisis has not changed the essence of social democratic and bourgeois reformism, or their specific functional features. The general laws continue to operate. When social democrats are in the opposition, the watershed between the two types of reformism increases. When they come to power, the differences between them are to a significant extent erased. However, complete fusion and identification of their positions does not take place.

The radicality of the social democratic program is not adequately expressed in its actual anti-crisis policies. Once social democratic parties come to power, the strategic aims of some of them "to break with capitalism" are overshadowed by pragmatic tasks and objectives. However, it would be an oversimplification to reduce the divergency in social democratic theory and practice to deceit. Social democratic anti-crisis policy reflects objective contradictions which it is unable to resolve. The traditional Keynesian models of economic development, on which social democrats rely, do not work. They have no other comprehensive model. At the same time, being a working class party, although a reformist one, they cannot borrow the conservative strategy for escaping the crisis.

Its profound heterogeneity also pushes it onto the path of predominantly compromise solutions. For example, can the anti-crisis alternative of PASOK [expansion unknown] be other than interim and partial, when within it there coexist various, including even contradictory, tendencies: from left radical to bourgeois centrist, including a broad range of orthodox reformist and technocratic tendencies.

Forced to maneuver between two social poles, the social democrats constantly experience the powerful influence of antagonistic forces. Therefore, while it expresses the current interests of the working class and the workers, it simultaneously conducts an anti-crisis policy dictated by its inclusion in the superstructure of state monopoly capitalism. Under crisis conditions, social democracy feels growing pressure from both leftist and rightist forces, especially when it participates in governmental coalitions along with bourgeois parties. As a result, the dual function which it fulfills becomes less balanced, and it finds it more and more difficult to reach compromise solutions in implementing an anti-crisis policy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. However, this does not mean that monetarism leads to a weakening of the political and economic positions of the state. To the contrary, as the British economist (L. Harris) noted, while positive intervention in the economy for which a state conducting Keynesian policy is responsible declined, its negative interference under a monetarist policy became greater. For example, in Britain the state used anti-labor legislation, as well as growing unemployment, to weaken the strength of trade unions in production and in wage negotiations. The state's influence on the economy became more firm and centralized, and therefore more permanent, through introducing rigid control over the budgets of all state institutions, nationalized enterprises and local organs of government. The substantial increase in the economic authority of

the government is clearly indicated by the fact that the overall sum of expenditures financed by the state equals half the domestic gross output. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1983, No 9, p 54.

2. "Eurosocialism and America. Political Economy for the 1980's," Philadelphia, 1982, p 224.

3. Cited in LA WALLONIE, 15 November 1982.

4. See: "Novyye tendentsii v gosudarstvenno-monopolisticheskem regulirovaniyu ekonomiki glavnnykh kapitalisticheskikh stran" [New tendencies in State Monopoly Regulation of the Economies of the Main Capitalist Countries], Moscow, 1981, p 5.

5. "PS. Faire face a la crise. Renover et agir (I)," Brussels, 1982, pp 41, 68.

6. O. Palme, "Le rendez-vus suédois. Conversations avec Serge Richard," Paris, 1976, p 92.

7. "Eurosocialism and America. Political Economy for the 1980's," p 215.

8. For more detail see: "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii," [The International Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory], vol 5, Moscow, 1981, p 433.

9. "Bulletin de l'Association pour l'étude de l'œuvre d'Henri de Man," Geneva, 1981, No 10, p 9.

10. "La sociale-democratie en questions (avec des réflexions de François Mitterrand)," Paris, 1981, p 180.

11. See: "Le XVI Congrès de l'J. S. Manifeste d'Albufeira," LE SOCIALISME, 1983, No 177, May-June, p 232.

12. Ibid.

13. This is convincing evidence of the relative isolation of social reformist theories from the main schools of vulgar, bourgeois political economy. See, for example: V. S. Pan'kov, "Ekonomicheskiye teorii sovremennoego sotsial-reformizma" [Economic Theories of Modern Social Reformism], Moscow, 1980, p 6.

14. "To escape from the crisis," it states in the FSP program adopted in 1980, "Socialist Project for France of the 1980's," "means to find an escape from capitalism, which is in a state of crisis." "Projet socialiste pour la France des années 80," Paris, 1981, p 172.

15. LE MONDE, 25 March 1983.

16. The leading figures of the socialist and social democratic parties, calling for the elimination of the misalignment of the economic structures and mechanisms in capitalist countries, favored the development of anti-crisis

programs oriented on some intermediate, "third" path of economic development. It was emphasized at the June 1982 international social democratic meeting in Beaucheval and Paris that the effectiveness of the strategy for escaping the crisis depends on the ability of the parties of "democratic socialism" to outline and implement a new economic system, which "would fundamentally differ from everything that the U. S. is trying to do under crisis conditions on the one hand, and would not cause the sphere of influence of the USSR to expand, on the other." LA NOUVELLE REVUE SOCIALISTE, 1982, No 59, p 71.

17. See: "Le XVI Congres de l'J. S. Manifeste d'Albufeira," LE SOCIALISME, 1983, No 177, May-June, pp 233-235.

18. See: Ibid., p 227. "Measures being taken today to combat the crisis are inadequate and largely ineffective, even in those countries where socialists are in power," stated (A. Kools), prominent figure in Belgian social democracy. LE SOCIALISME, 1980, No 146-147, p 279. Characterizing attempts of ruling social democrats to use Keynesian instruments to escape the crisis, (I. Den Oyl), leader of the labor party in the Netherlands, came to the conclusion that "it is impossible based on this policy to solve all the problems which have accumulated." "Eurosocialism and America. Political Economy for the 1980's", p 215.

19. L'UNITE, 27 May 1983, p 11.

20. See: "PS. Faire face a la crise. Renover et agir. Texte integral des resolutions." Brussels, 1982, p 4.

21. See: "La France socialiste. Un premier bilan," Paris, 1983, p 207. For a comparison and explanation of the scale of the reforms carried out by the FSP in this sphere, see: L. N. Krasavina, "Finansovaya denezhno-kreditnaya sistema Frantsii" [The French Financial and Monetary Credit System], Moscow, 1978; S. A. Lazarev, "Finansovyye gruppy v ekonomike sovremennoy Frantsii" [Financial Groups in the Economy of Contemporary France], Moscow, 1983.

22. B. Bellon, "Finansovyy kapital i promyshlennost' vo Frantsii" [Financial Capital and Industry in France], Moscow 1983, p 7. See also: "The Left in France," Nottingham, 1983.

23. Speaking in March 1984 at the economics club of New York, F. Mitterrand stated that "he does not regret the nationalization which has been carried out," although he also made this qualification: "Collectivization of the French economy has not taken place. I am not trying to do this. The majority of our companies belong to the private sector." LE MONDE, 30 March 1984.

24. More than 200 companies and 18 banks are included in this concern, which has an annual turnover of \$3.5 billion and 60,000 employees.

25. See: Ya. Yasovskaya, "Avstriya -- peremeny bez peremen" [Austria -- Changes Without Changes], MEIMO [MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA], 1983, No 9, p 131.

26. LE MONDE, 7 April 1984.

27. See: "A Swedish Union Proposal for Collective Capital Sharing: Eurosocialism and America. Political Economy for the 1980's," p 31.

28. See: "Razmezhevaniya i sdvigi v sotsial-reformizme. (Kriticheskiy analiz levykh techeniy v zapadnoyevropeyskoy sotsial-demokratii)" [Demarcations and Advances in Social Reformism (A Critical Analysis of Leftist Trends in Western European Social Democracy)], Moscow, 1983, p 325.

29. LE SOCIALISME, 1983, May-June, p 227.

30. See: V. Fedorov, S. Sokol'skiy; "FRG: sdvig vpravo" [FRG: Move to the Right], MEIMO, 1983, No 7, p 130.

31. See: M. Schmidt, "Wohlfahrtsstaatliche Politik unter burgerlichen und sozialdemokratischen Regierungen. Ein Internationaler Vergleich," Frankfurt-on-Main, 1982, pp 164-168.

32. "Full Employment and Solidarity in the International Community. Working Group on Employment Politics. Socialist International Congress," Madrid, 13-16 November 1980, p 6.

33. Ibid., p 8.

34. See: Ibid., pp 21-22.

35. See: PRAVDA, 1 April 1984.

36. See: L'UNITE, 2 April 1982, No. 462, p 3.

37. See: "La France socialiste. Un premier bilan," p 35.

38. LE MONDE, 6 April 1984.

39. Ibid.

40. LE POINT, 2 April 1984, p 32.

41. "PS. Faire face a la crise. Renover et agir. Texte integral des resolutions," Brussels, 1982, p 3.

42. For detail on this see: O. Palme, Op. cit., pp 136-137.

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## UNITY OF COMMUNISTS, NONCOMMUNISTS IN ANTIWAR STRUGGLE LAUDED

[Article by Z. P. Yakhimovich: "The Historic Mission of the Working Class in the Struggle for Peace"]

[Excerpts] In developing their study of the world-historic role of the working class, the founders of scientific communism emphasized that struggle against class exploitation and social and national oppression and for social justice and the affirmation of peace among nations is the purpose and meaning of the movement to liberate the proletariat, in alliance with the working people and the exploited masses. The working class accomplishes the revolutionary transformation of the world both "in its own interests and in the interests of mankind,"<sup>1</sup> since it is concerned with overcoming inhumane forms and methods of solving social problems which are inherent in antagonistic formations, and with creating the conditions for man's full and all-round development.

The course of 20th Century history has confirmed the vital importance and correctness of Marxist teaching about the world historical role of the working class. Now it has traversed a substantial part of the path of world social renewal and done a great deal to realize its revolutionary goals and ideals.

The experience of the development of the workers' movement from the time that scientific communism originated is indicative, however, not only of great successes, but also of difficulties in the self-knowledge and self-consciousness of the working class, and in its understanding of the conditions and nature of "its own cause."<sup>2</sup> The lack of uniformity of the modern world, and as one of its manifestations the unequal development of the working class, are obvious. Its individual elements -- working people in the socialist countries, the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries -- differ greatly in their role and status in society and in their social and political make-up. Their conceptions of their own status and of the problems of the modern world differ, and the conditions, opportunities and experience of their social activity are not identical.<sup>3</sup>

Along with the changes experienced since the 19th Century by the working class, as the main object of the revolutionary process, the spectrum of tasks which it is called upon to solve in the process of the world's revolutionary regeneration is changing and tremendously developing, and the content of its

world revolutionary mission is becoming richer. It is becoming more difficult to understand the class interests of the working class, and the importance of general human and global problems which it is vitally interested in solving is increasing. The task of creatively developing Marxist teaching about the role of the working class arises with each new turning point in history, in view of the need to link its main and essential tenets with new practical tasks.<sup>4</sup>

Among the most urgent problems of the international workers' movement in the last quarter of the 20th Century, the task of preserving peace and eliminating war from the life of society has become of top priority. The question of war and peace has in our time taken on a completely new quality, and become the fundamental question of public life. This requires from the workers' parties and organizations the development and implementation of a peace strategy, taking into account the special features of the current historical stage, as well as the cohesion of all the forces of the working class on a worldwide scale. At the same time, the various trends and organizations in the international workers' movement have different views on how to ensure peace, and assess differently the place of the antiwar struggle in all the activity of the working class and its role in world politics. Vigorous discussions about this are going on in the communist movement.

This article attempts to analyze certain extremely important aspects, in our view, of this multi-planed and complex theoretical and political problem. It examines: special features of the current stage of the working class struggle for peace from the standpoint of correlating its universal human and class aspects; specific forms and methods of the struggle for peace, detente and peaceful coexistence by the state-organized working class in the socialist countries under conditions of two opposing systems in the world arena; and the role and place of the working class in the antimissile and anti-nuclear movement in the capitalist countries. The tasks of the working class in the non-socialist part of the world, stemming from the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the development of GMK [state monopoly capitalism] and the NTR [scientific and technological revolution], the growth of trans-national corporations, etc., are not described in this article. Questions of the relationship between the struggle for peace and for social progress, and between class warfare and the antiwar movement are touched upon only to the extent that they reveal new aspects and tendencies in the working class antiwar movement.

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In view of the threat that mankind may slip into a thermonuclear catastrophe, preserving peace on earth is changing from a goal and consequence of social progress into its absolute condition and prerequisite, and is becoming a top priority problem, which must be successfully solved in order for the working class to have an opportunity to continue to struggle for its fundamental interests and for the progress of all mankind. The increased social importance to the working class of eliminating the threat of nuclear war also stems from the fact that otherwise it would become much more difficult to solve aggravated global problems, including ecological, food and those of overcoming the backwardness of the countries of the so-called third world

which, through the fault of imperialism, were left on the roadside of world civilization, etc.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, even if the direct threat of a nuclear war is not considered, preparations for it by imperialist circles in the Western countries and the need for the countries of the socialist community to oppose this threat, as well as the spread of the arms race to the developing countries, divert tremendous efforts and resources from solving vital social problems, which are in the interests of the masses, including the working class. It is no accident that in recent years the communist and workers' parties and trade unions of varying orientations have been paying such great attention to revealing the negative social and economic consequences of the arms race and to the development of economic reconversion programs.

The qualitatively new character of the problems of war and peace at the present stage is causing an increase in the proportion and importance of working class antiwar and antimilitarist actions, and of its struggle in the capitalist countries against increases in military budgets, the dominance of the military industrial complex and the militarization of society, and on the world arena for detente and reduced international tension, and to affirm principles and norms in relations among states, especially the nuclear states, which eliminate the risk of war. Curbing the forces of war and the arms race, naturally, will not eliminate relations of class rule and social oppression in the non-socialist part of the world, but it will create immeasurably more favorable conditions for the working class struggle for social progress.<sup>6</sup>

The unique and non-traditional forms of protest against the threat of nuclear war in recent years once again attracted the attention of both Marxists and non-Marxists to the most urgent questions for the international workers' movement concerning the correlation of the class struggle and the struggle for peace, and concerning the essence and specifics of the class approach to the questions of war and peace at the present stage. The working class worldwide has accumulated considerable positive historical experience in antiwar activity from class positions. However, in view of the increase in the universal importance of preserving peace, the task is arising of disclosing new reserves and opportunities for joint actions by the working class and the broad spectrum of non-proletarian antiwar forces, which as a group are far from ready to recognize the imperatives of the class struggle.<sup>7</sup> It is also necessary to deal with the fact that advocates of both a class and non-class approach to solving the questions of war and peace are represented in the workers' movement. As public opinion polls show, significant strata of the population in the capitalist countries, especially in the U. S., still do not have clear impressions of the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war, and do not comprehend the fatality of the policy of "rearmament" to the cause of peace.

But we are not talking only of the absence of subjective readiness by a significant part of the working masses in the West to solve the problems of war and peace by purely class means and by way of the class struggle. The difficulty for the working class to develop and implement an effective peace strategy on a worldwide scale also stems from the fact that, at the present

stage, the struggle for peace itself seemingly has two dimensions and incorporates two essentially different tendencies -- one common to all mankind, and the other class oriented.

As a problem of the fate of all mankind, it stands above class, political and ideological differences, and namely as such it can and must be solved by all states and peoples and social and political movements in the socially diverse world. K. U. Chernenko emphasized that the present world situation can be improved "by the joint united efforts of state authorities and citizens, regardless of their political, religious and philosophical views, social status or party affiliation."<sup>8</sup>

The markedly increased internationalization of social life and globalization of social processes, along with the expanding circle of vitally important tasks whose solution is impossible without the combined efforts of all countries and peoples, "on both sides of the social barricades dividing the world," is an objective precondition for affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among peoples."<sup>9</sup>

The threat of nuclear war became a reality under conditions when, starting in the second half of the 20th Century, the process of transforming the world history of human society into the history of mankind significantly accelerated.<sup>10</sup> This was facilitated by large scale processes which changed the face of the modern world: the successes of the revolutionary process and increased influence of real socialism on world development; the downfall of the colonial system and entry onto the world arena of more than 100 new states of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania; the strengthening of integrating processes; etc. The successes of the scientific and technological revolution and qualitative changes which it caused in the development of productive forces, means of communications and information also played an important role in the internationalization of economic and social life. It turn, man's entry into space produced a revolution in the public perception of the problems of mankind and the fate of the planet Earth.

In keeping with the internationalization of social life related to the growth of the mutual dependence of all mankind, an ever more significant portion of the population of our planet is becoming conscious of the need to seek new ways and means of solving the problems of the human community, taking into account the interests of all countries and peoples, as well as the needs of world development.<sup>11</sup> Appropriately in the new historic context, the threat of a nuclear cataclysm appears as a blatant challenge to and violation of human values and is perceived as a crime against mankind, not only by contemporary revolutionary forces, but also by broad circles of society.

The class approach of the working class to the problems of war and peace under these conditions is inseparable from its ability as a class to consider fully their new, universal and global aspects; to rise to an understanding of the qualitatively new tendencies and requirements of social development; and to implement its multi-planed social activity, accurately harmonizing it with the interests of mankind as a whole as the highest form of society.

At the same time the problems of war and peace cannot be understood without taking into account their class aspects and the social contradictions of the modern world.

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United actions by the working class in the socialist countries and the workers in the non-socialist part of the world acquire vital importance in the present foreign political situation. It must be taken into account that a third world war is contemplated by the forces of reaction as a war between the two systems in the name of the destruction of socialism. Militaristic circles make extensive use of existing differences in the political and ideological viewpoints of workers in the socialist and capitalist countries. One of the important areas of ideological struggle today is the question of the contribution of socialism and the workers in the socialist community to the struggle for peace, and of the opportunities for joint efforts of socialist and capitalist countries to prevent thermonuclear war.

The organizers of the "crusade" against the USSR and the countries of the socialist community are trying to place blame on them for the increase in the military threat, and represent the U. S. and NATO countries in the role of "saviors" of the world. Militaristic brainwashing under conditions of growing recognition by the masses of the danger of nuclear war is realized with the aid of references to the "Soviet military threat," and "Soviet military superiority," and the sweeping denial of the inseparable link between socialism, peace and disarmament. Soviet foreign policy is persistently depicted as "a mixed strategy of world revolutionary propaganda and imperialistic power politics."<sup>12</sup>

It is not surprising that in the ranks of the antiwar, anti-imperialist and workers' movement in the capitalist and developing countries, in view of anti-soviet and anti-communist prejudices and analytical complexities, at times the role of socialists in the struggle for international detente is seriously underestimated. Even among leftist movements and organizations the thesis about the "equal responsibility" of the U. S. and USSR for the aggravation of international tension has gained some currency. Ignoring the specifics of the opposition of the socialist community to the nuclear militarism of Western imperialist circles, they frequently try to charge the Soviet Union and Warsaw Treaty Organization countries with supposedly characteristic overreliance on military factors in solving international problems. This is the reason for the persistence of the thesis of the "equidistance" of the movement for disarmament and peace from the two blocs, and from the two superpowers. Moreover, some "peace lovers" in the West excel in attacking the societies of the socialist countries, due to differences in the forms and methods of their struggle for peace from those developed in recent years in the capitalist countries. Thus, they mechanically equate the situation in the capitalist world with that in the socialist countries, where complete compatibility of the peaceful aspirations and goals of the governments and the workers are responsible for directing the energies of the latter outward, against the aggressive policy of imperialism.

At the same time, in the struggle of the two systems, it is namely the socialist community which is the mighty bulwark of peace, without which opposition by the working class and all antiwar forces to unleashing of nuclear war by imperialism would be much more difficult. The foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community organically unites the struggle for the inviolability of socialist gains, the security of these countries and international support for the forces of social progress throughout the world, with defense and protection of general human values and interests. The establishment of socialist civilization as a result of the victorious socialist revolutions plays a decisive role in this. The orientation on peace and peaceful relations among peoples inherent in socialism is ensured by the creation of a new type of workers' power, headed by the working class; the affirmation of public property in the means of production and a humanistic world outlook; the elimination of class and national oppression; and the elimination of sources of aggression and militarism.

The formation, to the extent that socialist transformations are accomplished, of a socially homogenous society, and the elimination in that society of the objective basis for class struggle, also are at the foundation of the policy of peace. Constructive, creative activity at all levels -- state, social, and in the sphere of production and culture -- is a form of self-expression of the working class and all workers under conditions of a mature socialist society.

The boundaries between conflict and peaceful relations, like the forms and range of each, are extremely fluid and ambiguous at various stages. Their relationship depends on many factors, including the level of the world revolutionary process; the abilities of the forces of socialism to impact actively on world development; and especially the forms of opposition imposed on the socialist countries by the ruling circles of the imperialist powers. The entire history of world socialism is the history of repulsing attacks from international reaction in the form of direct intervention and aggression; undermining the unity of the socialist countries and blatant interference in their internal affairs; economic blockades and sabotage; "psychological warfare," etc. The initiative toward confrontation and attempt to shift the political and ideological opposition and economic competition of the two systems onto the plane of strategic military rivalry derives in the conflict between the two systems namely from militaristic, adventuristic Western circles. Meeting the interests of the military-industrial complex, these Western circles (as the present U. S. administration frankly acknowledges) must restrain development of the tremendous economic and social capabilities inherent in socialism, and optimally provide the NATO countries the capability to wage nuclear war against the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty Organization countries, while not subjecting themselves to the danger of a retaliatory strike.

In the sphere of world politics, the countries of the socialist community must overcome the opposition of these imperialist forces, and face swings and changes in the international situation which are caused "not by our class or through our efforts."<sup>13</sup> Without considering this situation it is not possible to assess fully the sources and underlying cause of the existence of two military and political alliances, NATO and the WTO, which differ fundamentally in their class and political nature, or the need to support, in the name of preserving peace, the strategic military parity of the two systems and the

resolve of the Soviet State and Soviet people not to allow it to be destroyed. The Soviet nuclear missile capability, like the military doctrine of the Soviet armed forces, is exclusively defensive in nature.

The foreign policy documents and peace initiatives of the USSR and the socialist community as a whole, which are aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war, preventing a new and dangerous spiral in the arms race and restoring a climate of trust in international relations, are in full accord with this. In contrast to the concepts advocated by the NATO countries of the admissibility of "protracted," "limited," or "local" nuclear wars, or "star wars," the WTO countries, including the USSR, have developed in recent years a broad and constructive program of measures to reduce and eliminate the threat of a worldwide thermonuclear conflict. These measures include: a commitment by the USSR not to be first to use nuclear weapons and a call to the other nuclear powers to follow this example; a proposal to work out a "code of peace" among the nuclear powers, considering their special responsibility to mankind; readiness of the WTO to conclude a treaty on non-use of force with the NATO countries; a resolve, under conditions of parity and considering the security of both sides, to undertake a radical reduction of nuclear forces in Europe and the world as a whole; acknowledgement of the inadmissibility of shifting ideological opposition into military opposition; etc. This program, which meets the interests of workers of the entire world and of mankind as a whole, opens up opportunities for a constructive dialogue between East and West.

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A distinguishing present day feature is the truly worldwide scale of the struggle for peace, the emergence of ever newer antiwar movements and organizations, and the shift of an ever broader spectrum of political parties and social organizations in the non-socialist part of the world to active and interested participation in solving the problems of war and peace. Mass social movements have become, as was noted at the Prague World Assembly in June 1983, "one of the determining factors of the international situation, able to influence the practical policy of states in the cause of preserving peace."<sup>14</sup>

The working class in the developed capitalist and developing countries is making a significant contribution in the struggle for peace. An important form of its participation is (and this is stressed in all programs of the world communist movement) the entire gamut of social and economic struggles of the working class against rightist and neo-conservative forces and the rule of monopolies, and for democracy and social progress. These struggles helped to discredit the openly revanchist and neo-fascist circles and advocates of colonialism in the post-war decades, and the erosion of the cold war and shift to detente in the 1960's and 1970's, and they facilitated working out the Helsinki agreements in 1975.<sup>15</sup> The ever more stubborn resistance of the working class in the early 1980's to the attack by neo-conservative forces against the rights of workers and trade unions, and the harsh economic policy resulting from increased military expenditures and militarization, are playing a large role in opposing those who advocate aggravating international tension.

Along with this, the ever more active participation of the working class in the anti-missile, anti-nuclear movement is becoming an important sphere of its struggle for peace. Interaction and coordination of the workers' movement proper and the antiwar movement is not at all easy to accomplish, a fact to which both communists and a number of Western researchers have paid attention.<sup>16</sup> The difficulty of this process stems from the lack of unity in the workers' movement in capitalist countries, including on questions of peace, detente and disarmament, which in a number of countries made it difficult for the working class as an organized force to become a center and focal point of the antiwar struggle. This difficulty also results from changes in the social structure of the capitalist countries and the working class itself, thereby making it more complicated to involve various strata of the population in the struggle for peace, and, finally from peculiarities of the antiwar movement itself, which is extremely specific in its social and ideological appearance.

We will look at these factors in somewhat more detail.

Despite the importance for the working class of a clear position with respect to wars and militarism, in our day as before, "it is difficult to find another question about which there would be such vacillation and dissonance among Western socialists as in disputes about anti-militarist tactics."<sup>17</sup> It is enough to recall the sharp polemic in the workers' movement in the 1940's and 1950's about the North Atlantic Pact and the "cold war," as well as in connection with colonial wars, the differing attitudes of communists and social democrats toward aggression by the imperialist powers against the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Middle East, and their discussions on questions of detente and disarmament in the 1970's and early 1980's. Behind the disagreements in assessing foreign political events stand fundamentally divergent views held by various trends in the workers' movement in understanding the essence of the contradictions in the modern world, assessing the role of real socialism in social development, and interpreting the nature and objectives of detente and peaceful coexistence and the ways of achieving them. The picture would seem still more complex if the difficulties the working class in the developing countries has in working out an independent position on international questions were taken into account.

As a result of ideological and political discussions among workers' organizations on questions of war and peace, there are both internationalist and neutralist conceptions and adherents to both "Atlanticism" and pacifism in the working class. Under conditions of "psychological warfare" and intensified indoctrination of the broadest masses of the population in the spirit of anti-sovietism and anti-communism, a certain portion of the working class is disoriented on questions of foreign policy. Ingrained views about the supposed need to defend Western civilization through "rearmament", which is perceived as being above class interests, represent a considerable obstacle to active participation by the workers in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war. Prejudices against real socialism hamper understanding by broad masses of the population of the especially dangerous character and the social-political nature of the war which threatens the world.

In a situation of growing unemployment and an aggravated employment problem, it is difficult to overcome the impressions sown by the ideologues of militarism that militarization of the economy is supposedly necessary to maintain an active economy and employment. It is far from easy for that part of the population which is beat down by unemployment and deprived of its accustomed living conditions, and frequently withdraws from active participation in social life, to recognize the direct link between the social and economic struggle and the antiwar struggle.

In many countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, reactionary dictatorial regimes which follow the militaristic policy of the Western powers seriously hold back the development of the antiwar movement. The absence or weakness of democratic traditions, lack of a developed workers' political culture, and mass illiteracy are negative influences. It must also be considered that many developing countries, due to imperialist aggression and local wars inspired by imperialism, have not experienced the beneficial consequences of detente.

The complex realities of the planet confront the working class and its organizations with far from simple questions on providing security for individual countries in the nuclear age, and on the boundary between intelligent defensive measures and the growth of military power, under slogans of "national security" and "rearmament," for the purpose of preparing for war against the socialist world. In connection with the deployment of American first strike weapons in a number of NATO countries despite the social protest of the Western European countries, sharp discussions developed in a number of NATO countries on the possibility under these circumstances of ensuring national sovereignty in questions of war and peace. We would add to this the fact that in social democratic parties and trade unions with social democratic and catholic orientations, ideas of "Atlanticism" have become quite widespread in the post-war years due to rightist leaders and tendencies, and also that anti-soviet and anti-communist prejudices still persist to this day. All of this, in combination with an attempt to keep the activity of the working class within trade union, "heuristic" limits, is the reason for the far from complete realization of the antiwar capabilities of the working class in the non-socialist part of the world.

As for the communist parties, despite various forms of discrimination by both the ruling circles and certain forces in the workers' and antiwar movements, they are playing an important role in uniting the workers against militarism, revanchism and reaction. The communist parties attribute particular importance to strengthening democratic and anti-imperialist views in the masses on the ways and means of solving international problems, linking the struggle for peace and detente with the championing of democratic and socialist alternatives to imperialism.

The specific nature and special features of the present arrangement of forces on questions of war and peace in the capitalist countries also cannot be understood without considering the serious changes in the social structure of these countries related to the scientific and technological revolution and the social and economic crisis of the 1970's and early 1980's. A substantial increase in the army of hired labor occurred (it is true that in recent years the opposite tendency has been noted). The structure of the working class

grew in complexity due to the appearance of new categories of workers -- a clerical and commercial proletariat and a portion of the engineer and technical workers. There was an increase in the number and importance of so-called marginal strata in the overall mass of workers; those who are suffering most from the consequences of the crisis and unemployment -- youth, females, foreign workers, older persons, etc. The proletarianization and erosion of traditional middle classes is combined with the growth of so-called new middle classes -- with a different social status, life style, value system, etc.<sup>18</sup>

Back in the social-economic and political struggles of the late 1960's and early 1970's, along with their traditional participants, mainly from the forces of the organized workers' movement, new categories of the working class, middle classes and students took part. They brought with them specific forms of protest, slogans and demands, which helped to develop "new social movements" side-by-side with the workers' organizations: "alternative," ecological, feminist and others. In the late 1970's, in a number of countries these movements, as well as masses of believers and religious organizations, actively opposed the threat of nuclear war and significantly influenced the appearance of the modern, anti-missile, anti-nuclear movement. Inherent to these forces is a desire to place the struggle for peace outside of politics and ideology, and to develop it on the basis of "direct" democracy.

The antiwar movement itself underwent important evolution. The workers' parties and trade unions played an important role, along with other progressive and democratic organizations, in its origins in the 1940's and 1950's. The World Peace Movement, which to this day makes an important contribution to mobilizing the masses to struggle against the military threat, was created through their common efforts.<sup>19</sup> Its contributions have included collecting signatures for the first and second Stockholm Appeals; organizing protests against the new arms spiral in the late 1970's and early 1980's; and defending democratic, anti-imperialist concepts of world politics. They are implementing a broad dialogue with other antiwar organizations and movements which have stepped up their activity since the 1950's.

The anti-missile and anti-nuclear movement which developed since the end of the 1970's greatly exceeded in scale and importance the antiwar actions of prior years. Its development indicates that, along with the main social watershed of the modern era, a new watershed is taking shape before our eyes, as a result of advances in mass social consciousness and in the positions of the broadest strata of the population in the non-socialist countries -- the watershed between the advocates and opponents of detente. This, in turn, is also influencing the wavering masses, which are not yet certain of their views on questions of war and peace.

The anti-missile movement, which began in a number of countries of Western Europe, later spread to the Western Hemisphere and Japan, and in recent years to the countries of Latin America, Africa, Asia and Oceania. This movement is extremely diverse with respect to its social, ideological and world outlook. The working class, intelligentsia, urban middle classes, student youth, peasants, etc., are participating actively. Some slogans of the antiwar movement, in particular demands to "freeze" nuclear weapons, are supported

even by some factions of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. Its organizational structure is complex. Hundreds and thousands of organizations take part in the anti-missile, anti-nuclear movement.<sup>20</sup> It is characterized by numerous initiatives from below, at the level of individual communities, municipalities, cities, and even city blocks and streets; the broad, frequently spontaneous movement of millions in the name of peace is obvious. Along with the various forms of antiwar actions originated by the creative activeness of peace advocates back in the 1950's and 1960's ("peace marches," national referendums, etc.), in recent years there has been a widespread movement for "nuclear-free" communes, cities and municipalities, for the creation of "peace camps," the inculcation of a "peace culture," and many other forms of actions. The explanatory and propagandizing efforts of the progressive intelligentsia -- scientists, doctors, teachers, lawyers, writers, etc. -- are of great importance in causing ever broader masses of working people to recognize the fatal consequences of nuclear war.

There are many social, party-political, religious and even personal conceptions of peace in the anti-missile, anti-nuclear movement. Various incentives motivate participation in the movement: recognition of class positions; ethical and religious convictions; and professional-scientific understanding of the fatal consequences of nuclear war for human civilization. Various elements of the movement are found in complex interrelationships of ideological confrontation and fruitful dialogue on questions of war and peace. Participants and activists in antiwar actions are the target of unceasing attacks from the enemies of detente, the mass media and the authorities. Frequently obstacles are placed in the way of communist participation in the antiwar movement. Attempts are made to split the movement by political attributes, and to incline its participants against workers' parties and trade unions and against the working class.

The mass antiwar movement of the late 1970's and early 1980's, in which the working class also had its say, helped to turn the workers' organizations in the capitalist countries toward active antiwar activity. Under pressure from their rank-and-file members, not without some delay, and often after powerful antiwar demonstrations had already spread through many countries, trade unions significantly stepped up their struggle for peace and detente. Along with leftist trade union centers, the Association of West German Trade Unions, British Congress of Trade Unions, and trade union centers in Belgium, Canada, the Netherlands and other countries have recently begun to pay serious attention to problems of disarmament and detente. Trade union centers in Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway have favored a nuclear free zone in Northern Europe. Along with the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is conducting an energetic struggle against the arms race and the military threat, in recent years the European Confederation of Trade Unions and the International Conference of Free Trade Unions have come to recognize the danger and inadmissibility of nuclear war, although not without serious reservations. Under increasing recognition of the importance of unity, days of worldwide actions by trade unions to preserve peace took place on 1 September of 1982-1984, as did disarmament weeks in October of 1982 and 1983, conducted at the call of the UN. The movement for disarmament and to curb the danger of nuclear war has gathered new strength since Spring 1984.

The adventuristic policy of the Reagan Administration and a number of NATO countries was conducive to reexamination of the assessments of contemporary world development and disarmament problems by many socialist and social democratic parties. The British Labor Party, SDPG, PASOK in Greece, and socialists and social democrats in Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Canada, Denmark and other countries resolutely condemn the deployment of the new American missiles in the countries of Western Europe, and the new arms spiral. The Socialist International made important declarations in favor of detente, East-West dialogue, disarmament and eliminating the threat of nuclear war, which were reflected in resolutions of its 16th Congress, resolutions of the SI bureau in 1982-1983, and at the joint session of the Brandt and Palme commissions in 1984 in Rome. The Socialist International and a number of social democratic parties are devoting great attention to the organic relationship between the struggle for peace and disarmament and solving the problems of the developing countries.

The involvement of trade unions in the anti-missile, anti-nuclear movement facilitates the use, in the interests of detente, of proletarian methods of struggle. In particular the national five-minute protest strike in October 1983 against deployment of the American missiles in West Germany; the boycott by West German seamen of transatlantic shipment of missiles and military equipment, and other actions were well received by the public. Referendums in production enterprises are practiced, although on the whole the conduct of antiwar actions in enterprises is accompanied by considerable difficulties.

Activation of the working class multiplies the democratic potential of the anti-missile, anti-nuclear movement, and opens up prospects for overcoming a certain amorphous and inconsistent tendency in some of the antiwar forces and movements. At the same time, including social democracy and trade unions in antiwar actions is accompanied by some friction with the "alternative" and "ecological" movements. Not only do differences on questions of war, peace and detente have an effect, but so do differing views on the goals of social progress and methods of achieving it. Anti-soviet and anti-communist prejudices still existing within social democracy and the trade union movement, to the extent that these forces are included in the struggle for peace, create certain difficulties for communists.

Communists, struggling against discrimination and attempts to eliminate them from the antiwar movement, are prepared, as has been frequently stressed in resolutions and documents of the CPSU and fraternal communist parties, for the widest possible dialogue and cooperation in the name of peace, with social democrats, catholics and all people of good will. In the communist party congresses of late 1983 and the first half of 1984, serious attention was paid to the problems of the strategy and tactics of the communist struggle for peace, especially their relationships with religious antiwar organizations, "alternative" movements, etc. Communists note that on a foundation of joint actions against the threat of nuclear war, prerequisites are created for overcoming dissidence in the workers' movement, and the problems of class alliances can be resolved anew.

For revolutionary forces, for communists, who do not conceive of defending peace outside of its organic relationship with the struggle to confirm the ideals of social justice, strengthening peace and detente under present conditions serves as a means of providing favorable international conditions for the working class struggle for social progress and revolutionary world renewal. At the same time, the struggle to eliminate the threat of world thermonuclear war and for disarmament is an important aspect of defending the most humane forms of social progress and creating a situation in which, despite the forces of reaction, the class struggle, as Marx stated in his time, will pass "through its various phases in the most rational and humane manner."<sup>21</sup> The most recent period of social development is indicative of the fact that the transition of mankind to the socialist path of development on a worldwide scale is a complex and relatively protracted historical process. Under these conditions, the preservation and strengthening of peaceful coexistence and the elimination of the threat of a world thermonuclear catastrophe is, along with and in close connection with the struggle for social progress, becoming a direct component of the world revolutionary process.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniye" [Works], vol 17, p 554.
2. Ibid., vol 20, p 295.
3. See: "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii" [The International Workers' Movement. Questions of History and Theory], Moscow 1983; "Rabochiy klass v stranakh Zapadnoy Evropy. K izucheniyu sotsial'nykh osnov politicheskogo povedeniya" [The Working Class in the Countries of Western Europe. Toward the Study of the Social Foundations of Political Behavior], Moscow, 1982; "Rabochiy klass i rabocheye dvizheniye v Afrike (60-70-ye gg. XX v.)" [The Working Class and the Workers' Movement in Africa (1960's-1970's)], Moscow, 1979; "Razvitiye rabochego klassa v sotsialisticheskem obshchestve" [Development of the Working Class in Socialist Society], Moscow, 1982 and others.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], vol 20, p 84.
5. On the relationship between the questions of war and peace and global problems see: V. V. Zagladin and I. T. Frolov, "Global'nyye problemy sovremennosti: nauchnyy i sotsial'nyy aspekt" [Global Problems of Our Time: Scientific and Social Aspect], Moscow, 1981; the report of P. N. Fedoseyev at the May 1983 All-Union Scientific Conference in Moscow (PRAVDA, 19 May 1983) and others.
6. See: "Declaration of the World Trade Union Conference on Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament" (Paris, 1981), VSEMIRNOYE PROFSOYUZNOYE DVIZHENIYE, 1982, No 2, p 5.

7. It is typical that in recent years some ideologues of "alternative" and other antiwar movements, citing the importance of preserving peace, hasten to declare that Marxist teaching on the class struggle has lost force. They stress the general humanistic aspects of the struggle to defend peace, ignoring the class sources of the present military threat and the relationship between the struggles for peace and for social progress.

8. KOMMUNIST, 1984, No 6, p 20.

9. "Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 14-15 June 1983, p 24.

10. Marx and Engels, "Sochineniye," vol 27, p 402.

11. G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, "Gryadushchiy miroporyadok. O tendentsiyakh i perspektivakh mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy" [The Coming World Order. On Tendencies and Prospects for International Relations], Moscow, 1981.

12. F. I. Strauss, "Gebote der Freiheit," Munich, 1980, p 313.

13. Lenin, op. cit., vol 41, pp 88-89.

14. XX VEK I MIR, 1983, No 8, p 15.

15. "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii," vol 6.

16. See: PMS [PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA], 1983, No 9, pp 85-86.

17. Lenin, op. cit., vol 17, p 187.

18. See: "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii," vol 6; "Rabochiy klass v sotsial'noy strukture industrial'no razvitykh kapitalisticheskikh stran" [The Working Class in the Social Structure of the Developed Capitalist Countries], Moscow, 1977 and others.

19. It is active in 130 countries and relies on national organizations and committees. See: ZA RUBEZHOM, 1982, No 51.

20. Thus, representatives of 132 countries and 1843 national, 108 non-governmental and 11 inter-governmental organizations participated in the Prague World Assembly, "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War." See: PMS, 1983, No 8, pp 18-19.

21. Marx and Engels, op. cit., vol 17, p 553.

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## POLISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE

[Article by V. I. Valevskaya]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PORP] attributes great importance to the restoration of the trade union movement in the country, viewing it as an extremely important factor in further stabilizing social and political life in Poland. PORP documents (in particular those at the 10th plenum of its Central Committee in October 1982) have repeatedly emphasized the need to restore the class trade union movement in the PNR [Polish Peoples Republic], since further normalization of life in the country and escaping the crisis are impossible without solving this problem. The document, "PORP Central Committee Position on the Question of Restoring Trade Unions," noted that trade unions are a necessary element of the socialist social system, and that without trade unions working with the party in the name of defending the interests of the workers and the socialist system, the country's social and political system will neither function efficiently, nor be democratic.<sup>1</sup>

A working commission of 34 people was created within the PNR State Council to prepare a draft law on trade unions. Various trade union centers and trade union officials were represented proportionately in this commission, and scholars were also represented. The new law on trade unions was to reflect those economic and social-political changes which took place in the country after 1949.<sup>2</sup>

On 8 October 1982, following discussion and the introduction of amendments, the PNR Seim adopted the new trade union law. In accordance with Article 52, trade union registrations conducted before the law went into effect were declared void and to have lost legal force.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, Article 53 of the document provides for the step-by-step creation of a new trade union movement:

-- after 31 December 1982, but not before their charters are registered by the voevod [provincial governor's] courts, trade union organizations in enterprises (institutions) are created;

-- after 31 December 1983, trade union organizations at the national level are created;

-- after 31 October 1984, inter-trade union associations and organizations are created.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the law provided for the step-by-step creation of a trade union movement "from below," beginning with enterprise trade union organizations. In discussing this provision of the law in the PORP Central Committee journal, NOWE DROGI, it was noted that restoring the trade union movement "from below" was the only way for the workers in enterprises themselves to decide what kind of trade unions they should have.<sup>5</sup>

It is necessary to emphasize that restoring the PNR trade union movement first at the enterprise level is an expression of the general tendency of democratization of management at all levels and, in particular, at the level of the labor collective, which is natural for socialism in general as a social system. Moreover, this process also reflects the special features related to the country's economic reform, which envision strengthening enterprise independence, and thus require that particular attention be paid to primary trade union organizations.

The PNR trade union law defines the principles and goals of trade union activity and trade union rights, duties and functions.

The principles of the activity of trade unions in society are set down in Article 3: "Trade unions operate on the basis of laws, which must correspond to the PNR Constitution and other legislative documents; stand on the principles of public ownership of the means of production, which is the foundation of the socialist state system; and recognize the leading role of the PORP in building socialism, which is defined in the PNR Constitution, and the constitutional principles of PNR foreign policy."<sup>6</sup>

The law grants all workers the right of association in trade unions, which may independently determine their goals and programs, adopt charters and other internal documents concerning trade union work, and develop an organizational structure and provisions for the election of leading trade union organs (Article 1).

Section III on the rights and obligations of trade unions contains a provision on granting trade unions the right of legislative initiative. Trade unions have the right to make proposals on adopting or changing legislative documents which concern the rights and interests of workers and their families. The state or administrative organ to which the proposal is directed is required to familiarize the trade union with his viewpoint on the proposal within one month, and in case of a negative position to provide his justification (Article 22).

The law guarantees broad rights to trade unions in representing and defending the interests of workers on questions concerning working conditions and wages; social and cultural conditions and, in particular, in the area of implementing an effective employment policy; as well as rights and obligations stemming from their working relations; working safety and hygiene; social security for workers and their families; the organization of rest, sport and tourism;

protection of health; allowances for temporary disability; pensions and other forms of social insurance; satisfaction of the workers' housing needs; price formation and determination of a living wage for workers' families; development of education and culture for the workers; as well as protection of the environment.

Articles 6, 7 and 8 also enumerate other trade union functions:

-- economic: participation in determining and accomplishing tasks of the country's social and economic development, and work aimed at increasing national income and its fair distribution;

-- educational: the formation of professional ethics, and promotion of the conscientious fulfillment by the workers of their obligations and their observance of the principles of social life;

-- international activity: participation in the work of international trade union organizations, for the purpose of representing the professional and public interests of their members in the international arena and for carrying out actions to strengthen international workers' solidarity.

The law provides that in its work within the framework of the charter, trade unions are not subject to control and supervision from economic and state administrative organs, and the latter must refrain from any actions aimed at limiting the independence of trade unions and their activity which conforms to the law (Article 2). The law also defines the forms of their partnership with the administrative administration.

Under its charter, a trade union organization within an enterprise has the right:

-- to make independent decisions on questions concerning the direct interests of the workers, in accordance with the provisions of labor legislation -- the development of documents on working safety, etc.;

-- to make joint decisions with the administration on questions of new norms, prices, rules governing internal working procedures and bonuses, as well as the social and cultural needs of the collective;

-- to work together with the administration on questions of raising workers' qualifications, developing improvements and inventions, and forming norms of the socialist community in the labor collective;

-- to control the observance of labor legislation, in particular concerning safety equipment, as well as to supervise the work of labor safety inspections and to work with the state labor safety inspection in this area.

Section II sets down the procedure for creating trade unions. Trade unions are created on the basis of economic branch or profession. In principle the law does not limit the number of local trade union organizations in a single enterprise or their organizational forms. The creation of one trade union organization in an enterprise is for a limited period until 31 December 1985.

The law clearly defines those categories of persons not having the right to join trade unions (military servicemen, employees of the civil militia, etc.).

The provision on registration of trade unions is substantially new in the law. According to it a trade union may be registered if the content or provisions of its charter correspond to the provisions of the law.

Based on Article 53 (Paragraph 4) of the law on trade unions, the PNR State Council adopted the following decree: Workers in an enterprise who intend to establish a trade union in that enterprise elect a founding committee and approve a charter.

The founding committee (or initiative group), consisting of at least 10 people, is authorized to deal with questions concerned with registration of the trade union, for which purpose it introduces a proposal for registration of its trade union in the appropriate voevod (or city) court. On the day of registration, there must be at least 30 organizing members of the trade union. Trade unions obtain legal authority from the day of registration.

It should be noted that the temporary founding committee is not an organ of trade union leadership. After registration this committee must immediately conduct elections of trade union organs -- factory administrations -- without which the trade union cannot formally commence fulfilling its official functions.

Upon the adoption of the law on trade unions, the Public Consultative Commission -- a national Polish information and consultative organ for assisting in the establishment of trade union organizations in the country's enterprises -- worked up and approved on 22 October 1982 a model trade union charter, which reflects the main provisions of the trade union law, labor code and other labor legislation documents.

The Public Consultative Commission was created on 18 October 1982 within the PNR State Council. Its duties were:

- disseminating knowledge about trade unions, providing short term training for factory administration members, and conducting consultations for them on the legal status of trade unions in the country;
- organizing the sharing of experience among trade union organizations in the enterprises of one economic branch, or in various branches and voevods;
- organizing consultations on questions of creating national Polish trade union structures (branch and profession wide);
- developing statutes on factory labor inspections.

The commission also rendered consultative legal assistance. Answers to workers' questions on trade union activity were published under a special heading in the governmental organ.

The Public Consultative Commission fulfilled its duties with respect to the new trade unions and undertook "only those actions which were the result of questions, proposals and signals coming from founding committees, initiative groups or functioning trade unions."<sup>8</sup>

The PNR Council of Ministers committee on trade union matters, which resumed its activity at the start of 1983, is providing direct assistance in the renewal of the trade union movement. The committee's duties include carrying out constant consultations with trade unions on organizational questions, as well as on problems concerning the direct interests of the workers which the government is deciding.

The process of renewing the trade union movement in the PNR began immediately following the adoption of the law on trade unions. Founding committees were formed in the country's enterprises; charters of future trade union organizations were adopted, and already by the end of November; i.e., a little more than a month after the law entered force, 402 trade unions had been registered.<sup>9</sup> By January 1983, more than 20,000 founding committees were created in the PNR; i.e., the process had encompassed almost half of the enterprises where trade union organizations can be created in accordance with existing law, and more than 1 million people had taken part in them. The founding committees contained approximately 70 percent workers. Representatives of all former trade union centers took part in the work of these organs.

The 19 October 1982 session of the PORP Central Committee Politburo noted that the development of the country's trade union movement is an important political process, and that unjustified haste in reforming trade unions must not occur. The country needs strong socialist trade unions, and their strength depends not only on their rate of creation and numbers.<sup>10</sup>

In mid-April 1983, elections of new trade union organs took place in half of the enterprise trade union organizations. By the end of June 1983, the number of trade union members exceeded 3.5 million people and trade unions numbered 16,730.<sup>11</sup> In June 1984 the number of trade union members reached 4.5 million and the number of registered trade union organizations exceeded 20,000. In accordance with the law, trade unions may be created in 27,000 enterprises, and they have in fact already been formed in 25,000.<sup>12</sup>

Of course, statistical data cannot be the only developmental index in social activity. It is important to what extent the restored trade unions will cope with their primary tasks, and what authority and trust they will enjoy in the labor collectives. It is important to note that "the new trade unions are primarily workers trade unions," notes the PORP Central Committee organ. Non-party and party workers comprise more than 70 percent of all trade union members and more than 60 percent of the supervisory trade union organs of enterprises -- the administrations.<sup>13</sup> More than 35 percent of trade union members are PORP members and 20 percent are young people.<sup>14</sup> "Thus, the development of the trade union movement is indicative of the gradual stabilization of social life in our country."<sup>15</sup>

The process of restoring the trade union movement has its economic branch and geographic features. There are branches where trade unions have arisen in 80 -100 percent of enterprises and organizations. This applies primarily to metal workers, miners, state farm workers, teachers and textile workers. At the same time there are branches where fewer trade unions have been created. The "trade union geography" is also differentiated. For example, in Warsaw, Chekhanuv [transliterated], Olsztyn, Koszalin, Kelets [transliterated] and Płosk voevods trade union membership is growing faster than in other areas.

In accordance with the law on trade unions, national trade union organizations could be created in the PNR after 31 December 1983. In developing this provision of the law (Article 54, paragraph 4), and considering the desires of the trade union organizations in industrial enterprises, the State Council on 12 April 1983 adopted a decree on the principles for the formation of Polish national trade union organizations.<sup>16</sup>

This decree concerns the formation of higher level, inter-factory trade union structures, which are created on both industry (branch) and profession principles. The decree provides for the creation of two types of national organizations:

1. A national trade union organization may be formed as an organization of workers employed in a given industrial branch or a given enterprise, associated with the same profession and consisting of active trade union organizations in industrial enterprises.
2. A national trade union organization also may be created as an organization which combines the profession-based unions in the enterprises of one economic branch.

Thus, national trade unions are created both according to profession and industry (branch) principles.

When national organizations of the first type are created, the trade unions in enterprises and institutions lose their status as legal entities, which in turn is acquired by the central organ of the newly created trade union organization.

This type of national trade union structure is created because in a number of industrial enterprises and in institutions workers are not permitted by existing legislation to form their own union, due to their small numbers. They may realize their right to join a trade union by entering directly into the national professional organization.

Trade union organizations in industrial enterprises, which are interested in creating a national trade union organization, so decide and elect their representatives to founding groups, which then elect a founding committee. The founding committee approves the organization charter and registers it, and upon registration conducts elections to the organs of leadership.

The second type of national trade union structure is created on the basis of the industrial (branch) principle in the form of a federation; i.e., an association of factory trade union organizations in one economic branch. In this case the factory trade union organizations retain their legal status. The enterprise trade union elects its representatives to the founding group, which carries out consultations with trade union organizations active in other enterprises. If more than half of the trade union organizations in the industrial enterprises of a given economic branch express their readiness to create a national trade union organization (federation), the founding committee, which consists of representatives of these organizations, makes a decision to organize a national trade union organization, elects from within its members a founding committee, approves a charter and registers it. After authorization is obtained in the State Council and the national organization has been registered in court, the founding committee organizes elections for trade union leadership organs in accordance with its charter. The charter organs of the previous trade unions in the industrial enterprises become the organs of the factory trade union organizations of the given national organization.

In either case, the law on trade unions requires that the type of profession or economic branch be used instead of the name of a given enterprise in the name of the national union. Depending on the organizational form selected, such words as "association," "federation" (or "federal") are added to its name. The choice of creating either form of national organization is that of the enterprise trade union organizations themselves.

Thus it can be stated that presently the process of restoring the Polish trade union movement is in its third stage. Now that the law has been developed and adopted and factory trade union organizations have been created, the creation of national trade union organizations is presently in progress.

"The State Council decree," noted the public consultative commission, "permits trade union organizations in those enterprises where the process of creating the trade union movement is far advanced to accelerate the formation of inter-factory structures, formed according to the economic branch or profession principle. This strengthens existing trade unions and enables them to enjoy the broad rights which are consolidated in the trade union law."<sup>17</sup>

Soon after this State Council decree was adopted, a meeting was held in Katowice of representatives of factory trade union organizations in coal mines, quarries, copper mines and machinebuilding enterprises manufacturing mining equipment, at which questions concerning the creation of future inter-factory trade union elements in the mining industry were discussed. The meeting's participants decided to create a founding committee to organize a national trade union federation of mining industry workers.

Workers in the metallurgy industry also expressed their desire to create a national trade union organization. On 28 April 1983, a meeting of representatives of 90 trade unions was held at the Metallurgical Combine imeni Lenin, at which it was decided to create a federation of metallurgical industry workers. At the meeting there was discussion of a draft charter for

the new organization, which noted that the federation's activities are based on the class traditions of the metal workers' trade union movement.<sup>18</sup>

On 20 May 1983, the Warsaw Voevod Court registered the first federation, the Federation of Metal Workers' Trade Unions, and on 10 June 1983 the first founding congress of the Federation of Metal Workers' Trade Unions was held in Katowice, under the slogan, "The strength of the metal workers is in their unity." Congress participants made an appeal to metal workers' trade unions throughout the world, which in part states: "The congress expresses its solidarity with all social forces struggling for peace and detente. In the face of the nuclear threat we say "No!" to weapons. We demand constructive negotiations. We reject the policy of confrontation and demand a return to the policy of peaceful coexistence."<sup>19</sup> The congress chose the federation's highest organ of leadership and its executive committee.

In May and June 1983, founding congresses were held by workers in the state farms, the transport, construction and machine building industries, "Spolem" consumer cooperatives, workers in the light, forestry and timber industries, shipbuilders, textile and glass industries and railway transport.

At the end of June 1983, 74 enterprise trade union organizations, uniting 62,000 members expressed their desire to create trade union federations.<sup>20</sup>

It should be noted that, in accordance with Article 53 of the trade union law, national level professional organizations should be created after 31 December 1983. However, the practice of forming the legally sanctioned national trade union structures is somewhat outstripping the established time periods and, as can be seen from available data, branch structures -- federations -- at the national level began to form already in the first half of 1983.

As of the beginning of December 1983, 42 economic branch trade union structures were registered nationwide. Moreover, 14 branch trade unions (metal workers, textile workers, teachers, printers, city transport workers, sugar industry workers, etc.) had already held their founding congresses. In January 1984, 60 national trade union organizations were created, and by September their number had reached 110.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that the federation is not the governing organ with respect to factory trade union organizations.

Analysis of the programs of activity of the federations indicates that the main objective of their creation is for cooperation among the included trade unions to most effectively implement the tasks provided for by their charters, as well as to develop joint positions with respect to organs of the state and economic administration and political, social and other organizations. The document indicates that cooperation among federation members will be directed at more completely satisfying the material, social and cultural needs of the workers, raising their standard of living, improving working conditions, and protecting workers' health and rest organizations. Questions of renewing collective negotiations occupies an important place in the programs. Almost all federation draft programs provide that they will acquire the property of the former trade unions, in particular sanatoria, rest homes, etc. Organization by the federations of public consultations on draft decisions and

measures of governmental organs which effect the interests of individual professional groups or all the workers is becoming a most important task.

Today it can be said that an integrating process has begun, which is moving on three levels: territorial (commissions for cooperation among enterprise trade union organizations); economic branch (commissions or unions for coordination among federations); and national (creation of a collegium of federation chairmen). Implementation of cooperation between trade unions and the central state and economic organs, and coordination of relations with trade unions in foreign countries are within the competency of the collegium of chairmen.

The practice of meetings and consultations between trade union representatives, state leaders and state organs has already developed. On 26 August 1983 the first meeting took place in Katowice between Jaruzelski and the trade union activists of 200 of the largest industrial enterprises, as well as with representatives of national branch federations, in which 650 persons took part. The participants in the meeting expressed support of PORN policy regarding the trade unions and the loyalty of the new trade union movement to the principles of socialism. Attention was paid to the need for more active participation of trade unions in solving industrial problems and overcoming the country's crisis. Proposals were made about developing a more effective system for conducting consultative meetings between trade unions and state and economic organs. The meeting's participants made an appeal to the new members of trade unions to intensify the struggle for peace and disarmament and against the militaristic designs of imperialism. It also expressed support of the call by the VFP [World Federation of Trade Unions] to make 1 September a day of trade union actions for peace.

Jaruzelski stated at the meeting that the party will display special concern about increasing the role of the working class in socialist society and noted the historic importance of the new trade union movement. The first secretary of the PORN Central Committee and chairman of the PNR Council of Ministers stressed that trade unions, being an important element in the system of socialist democracy, must become an equal partner in the cause of building socialism, and he noted the need for increasing their work in the areas of production and workers' education, improving labor organization and discipline, developing technological progress, saving resources and improving product quality.<sup>22</sup>

In order to increase the authority and role of trade unions and take their opinion into account when preparing certain social and economic documents, a special PNR Council of Ministers decree was adopted. Pursuant to it, the organs of state administration at all levels are required to discuss with the trade unions all questions concerning the rights and interests of workers, their working conditions, wage system, etc. Depending on the specific situation, such consultations may be general or with the participation of representatives of individual branch trade unions.

An example of such a consultative meeting between governmental organs and the trade unions is the Council of Ministers committee session on trade union matters, with participation by representatives of 40 trade unions, either registered or awaiting registration, which was held on 10 November 1983. This

session was devoted to discussing important problems presently facing the workers and trade unions. The discussion was based on reports by government representatives on key economic problems, and on draft decisions important to stabilizing the economy and raising the standard of living of the workers. Trade union representatives shared work experience at the meeting and discussed forms of cooperation with the administration and self-government of state enterprise collectives.<sup>23</sup>

At a joint session of the PORP Central Committee Politburo and the PNR Council of Ministers Presidium on 22 September 1983, the proposals of trade union activists made at the meeting in Katowice, and questions of social activity in enterprises were examined. On the whole a favorable assessment was made of the process of creating national branch trade union structures, and note was made of their importance as partners of the organs of state administration and economic management in solving the most important questions concerning the interests of individual professional groups and all working people.

It was considered useful for trade unions to be represented in the social and economic council of the Council of Ministers and in the commission on economic reform of the PNR Seim. It was pointed out that the organs of state and economic administration must consult with the trade unions on questions of wages, and that party organs must increase their attention to formation of various aspects of trade union activity, especially to strengthening trade union control functions in enterprises.<sup>24</sup>

Meetings between PORP and PNR government leaders and trade union representatives have now become daily practice. On 23 May 1984, the second meeting of that sort took place at one of the capital's largest factories, under the slogan, "Trade unions, strong in their unity -- working for the benefit of the workers." Key problems of the country's social and economic development were discussed at this meeting. In his speech, Jaruzelski gave a positive assessment of the participation and role of the trade unions in the country's social and political life. In the recent period, he noted, trade unions strengthened their positions and acquired valuable experience. Through common efforts, progress was achieved in all areas of the country's life.<sup>25</sup>

It should be noted that the creation of national trade union structures, especially economic branch federations, enabled the trade unions to participate more actively in the country's social and political life. Trade unions took an active part in the June 1984 elections to local councils of deputies. Some federations declared in their programs that trade union members should participate most actively in the electoral campaign.

The federation of trade unions for workers in light industry adopted a special decree which noted that participants in the new trade union movement cannot be indifferent to whom will represent the workers' interests in the local organs of authority, and that the future development of the country and society depends on the participation of trade union members in elections.<sup>26</sup>

At present the Polish trade union movement is in its organizational stage; however, trade union organizations in many enterprises have already begun ~~pa~~ their daily activity: They are adopting short and long term programs for

their work and solving urgent problems related to the workers' work and rest.

It was noted at the 10th PORP Central Committee plenum that restoring the trade unions is a difficult and complex process. These difficulties must not be avoided, but to the contrary, must be studied carefully and overcome, thus creating the conditions for the political unity of the trade union movement.

The PNR Sejm's adoption of the law on trade unions and the restoration of the trade unions was met with hostility by anti-socialist forces both within the country and abroad. We can be sure, noted the PORP Central Committee organ, TRYBUNA LUDU, that creation of national trade union structures will cause another wave of attacks by the political opposition and its foreign <sup>27</sup> prompters.

After the law on trade unions was adopted, international reaction -- remnants of anti-socialist forces -- developed a campaign calling for boycotting of the new trade unions. However, by March 1983 it had already become clear that the general boycott had failed, and the active entry of the workers into the trade unions began.

Under these conditions, anti-socialist elements tried to exert corresponding influence on the workers in order to hold back the trade union movement's developmental progress. The tactics of international reactionary forces were also based on undermining the unity of the trade union movement by propagating pluralism in it and creating "parallel structures" in the future. This would have meant nothing other than the restoration of Solidarity, although in a new guise, adapted to the new conditions.

Along with its internal problems, the process of restoring the trade union movement is made more difficult by interference by several capitalist countries in the internal affairs of Poland. The adoption of the new trade union law was a pretext for the U. S. and its allies to step up their anti-Polish campaign. Article 52 of the law, in accordance with which all previous trade unions were abolished, caused particular irritation. Additional economic sanctions were imposed against Poland, and she was refused most favored nation trade status on principle.

Some Western trade union centers joined the anti-Polish campaign and sent a "complaint" against Poland to the International Labor Organization [MOT], to the effect that on the basis of this legislative document its government abolished the previous trade unions, including the former trade union center, Solidarity. The PNR government expressed its resolute protest against interference by MOT in Poland's internal affairs.

In recent years, the government declaration states, a number of Western European trade union centers and some NATO governments have introduced into the MOT forum the so-called "Polish question." Over a long period of time the PNR Government displayed restraint with respect to the clearly malevolent utterances by representatives of a number of MOT member countries, which consciously distorted the situation in Poland. An example of this unceremonious approach is the "complaint" by one of the European trade union centers, the authors of which try to teach the PNR government what it must do

in its domestic policy.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, despite the position of the PNR Government on the matter, the anti-Polish campaign and interference in the internal affairs of Poland continue to increase.

The anti-Polish campaign, which is linked, in particular, to problems of the country's trade union movement, occupies a special place in imperialism's global anti-socialist strategy. It is characteristic that one of the main thrusts of the ideological struggle is at present namely the question of trade union activities in socialist countries, and an attempt is being made to revise Lenin's teaching on the place and role of trade unions in socialist society. And this is no accident, since trade union activity under socialism is closely related to its fundamental political and economic principles.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. TRYBUNA LUDU, 1 November 1982.
2. Prior to this the 1949 law on trade unions was in effect in the PNR.
3. TRYBUNA LUDU, 9-10 October 1982.
4. Ibid.
5. See: NOWE DROGI, 1982, No 12, p 11.
6. TRYBUNA LUDU, 9-10 October 1982.
7. After fulfilling its responsibilities it ceased work in early 1984.
8. TRYBUNA LUDU, 1 March 1983.
9. TRYBUNA LUDU, 29 November 1982.
10. TRYBUNA LUDU, 20 October 1982.
11. TRYBUNA LUDU, 20 May 1983, 29 June 1983.
12. TRYBUNA LUDU, 26 January 1984, 31 May 1984.
13. TRYBUNA LUDU, 18 April 1983.
14. TRYBUNA LUDU, 9 June 1983.
15. Ibid.
16. DZIENNIK USTAW, 1983, No 21, p 92.
17. TRYBUNA LUDU, 18 June 1983.
18. TRYBUNA LUDU, 29 May 1983.

19. TRYBUNA LUDU, 13 June 1983.
20. TRYBUNA LUDU, 28 April 1983.
21. TRYBUNA LUDU, 31 August 1984.
22. TRYBUNA LUDU, 29 August 1984.
23. TRYBUNA LUDU, 12-13 February 1983.
24. TRYBUNA LUDU, 23 September 1983.
25. TRYBUNA LUDU, 24 May 1984.
26. TRYBUNA LUDU, 16 May 1984.
27. TRYBUNA LUDU, 25 April 1983.
28. TRUD, 2 June 1983.

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## POLISH-SOVIET SEMINAR ON TRADE UNIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

[Article by V. P.: "Soviet-Polish Trade Union Seminar"]

[Text] "The Place and Role of Trade Unions in Socialist Society" -- this was the topic of the Soviet-Polish seminar held in Moscow on 3-9 June 1984. This was not the first such meeting.<sup>1</sup> Officials from VTsSPS [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], instructors and associates of the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement [VShPD] imeni N. M. Shvernik, leaders of economic branch trade unions, and chairmen of trade union committees from major Moscow industrial enterprises participated in the seminar. The Polish side was represented by 28 different federations,<sup>2</sup> The Center for Trade Union Cadre Training, the Trade Union Publishing Institute, as well as chairmen of trade union committees from major industrial enterprises and mines.

Professor V. G. Shorin, rector of VShPD, presented greetings at the opening of the seminar. K. Yu. Matskyavichyus, secretary of VTsSPS, gave an introduction, which noted the currency of the seminar topic and emphasized the importance of developing cooperation between Soviet and Polish trade unions and strengthening the unity of the trade union movement within the socialist community. On the Polish side, Professor Kh. Rot, chairman of the federation of trade unions for workers of higher schools and scientific institutions, greeted the seminar participants, thanking VTsSPS for the opportunity for Polish trade union workers to participate in the seminar, which [he said] will permit a wide-ranging and frank discussion of problems of the trade union movement. The speaker especially emphasized that one of the most important tasks now facing Polish trade union workers is to strengthen ties with the trade unions in the socialist countries, and that a main task was to achieve economic and social-political stability in the Polish People's Republic [PNR]. It is apparent from the recent past that only unwavering observance of Leninist norms and principles in the country's social and political life can lead to the complete victory of socialism. Rot stated in conclusion that Polish trade union workers view their visit to Moscow as assistance and support from the Soviet trade unions, rendered in a difficult and crucial period of establishing the trade union movement in the PNR.

The seminar provided for carrying out both theoretical and practical activities. The professors from VShPD organized and conducted three classes on problems of trade union activities under socialism. These classes set

forth the main provisions of Marxist-Leninist teaching about trade unions, and disclosed the principles of their interrelation with the party, and with state and economic organs at various levels. The functions of trade unions under socialism were explained, as was the need for them to fulfill a dual task, and to carry out educational work among the workers. Polish trade union workers were informed about the situation in the international trade union movement, with stress on the dissident activity of reformist trade unions and on the special features of the present stage of the ideological battle.

The seminar topic entitled, "Marxist-Leninist Teaching on Trade Unions Under Socialism. Trade Unions in the Political System of Soviet society. The CPSU and Trade Unions. The State and Trade Unions," were conducted by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. A. Ivanov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Kh. F. Sabirov and Doctor of Laws O. V. Smirnov. The following reports were given within the seminar: "Discussion of Trade Unions in 1920-1921. V. I. Lenin on the "Workers Opposition" -- Professor V. A. Kadeykin; "The Struggle of the Party for Ideological Unity of the Trade Union Movement in the USSR (1921-1937)" -- Assistant Professor N. V. Polyakova; "The Growth of the Role of Trade Unions in the Process of the Construction of Socialism" -- Assistant Professor T. F. Yushina; "Interaction Between the Party and Trade Unions at the Level of the Labor Collective (Enterprise)" -- T. V. Boykacheva, chairman of the trade union committee at the Moscow Silk Combine "Krasnaya Roza" imeni R. Luxemburg; "Interaction of Oblast Trade Union Councils with Party Obkoms" -- MOSPS [Moscow Oblast Council of Trade Unions] secretary L. D. Maleyeva; "The Soviet Socialist State and Trade Unions" -- O. V. Smirnov and Professor Ye. M. Gershanov. Also examined in the seminar were questions of the forms and methods of cooperation between the administration and trade union committee in labor collectives; the interaction of the oblast trade union council with the oblast Soviet in solving regional questions of social development; the forms of interaction between a trade union economic branch central committee and the ministry, and the forms of interaction between the VTsSPS, USSR Council of Ministers and All-Union Planning Organs.

At the seminar entitled "Concern for Economic Development and Concern for the Workers' Interests," the following reports were made: "The Main Directions and Forms of Mass Industrial and Economic Work of Soviet Trade Unions" -- Candidate of Economic Sciences L. P. Gur'yanova; "The Activity of Soviet Trade Unions in Organizing Socialist Competition Under Contemporary Conditions" -- Professor P. V. Grechishnikov; "Participation of Soviet Trade Unions in Improving the Organization of Labor and Wages" -- Assistant Professor N. V. Yasakova; "The Role of the PDPS [Standing Production Conference] in Further Improving Industrial Efficiency" -- A. S. Kovaleva, chairman of the Central Mechanical Repair Factory, "Mosenergo" trade union committee; "The Growing Role of Collective Agreement in Solving Production, Economic and Social tasks of the Labor Collective" -- M. V. Tarasenko, secretary of the metallurgical industry workers' trade union central committee; "Trade Union Participation in Production Planning" -- A. F. Chebotayev, chief of the section for production and wages of the coal industry workers' trade union central committee; "The Activity of Soviet Trade Unions in the Development of Workers' Mass Scientific and Technological Creativity" -- N. N. Gritsenko, first deputy chairman of VSNTO [All-Union Council of Scientific and Technological Societies]; "The Forms and Methods by Which Soviet Trade Unions Accomplish Their Protective

Functions" -- O. V. Smirnov; "The Activity of Soviet Trade Unions in the Area of Social Insurance" -- Professor K. S. Batygin; "The Organization and Activity of Technical Inspection of Labor" -- A. A. Grigor'yev, technical inspector of labor in the agricultural workers' trade union central committee; "The Organization and Activity of the Labor Law Inspector" -- V. F. Zavyazkin, labor law inspector for the railroad transport and transport construction workers' trade union central committee; as well as the reports of Ye. M. Gershanov, "Trade Union Participation in Solving Labor Disputes in Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations," and "Organizing the Activity of the Enterprise (Association) Trade Union Committee to Defend the Lawful Interests of the Workers."

Also carried out was the seminar topic, "Main Features and Tendencies of the Ideological Struggle at the Present Stage. Opportunist Activity of Reformist Trade Unions in the International Arena," at which Kh. F. Sabirov and Professor A. A. Grechukhin gave reports.

On the Polish side, Yu. Radkovskiy (chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in State Motor Transport); Professors Kh. Rot and K. Kostetskiy (Center for Trade Union Cadre Training); and R. Grabovskaya (deputy chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions for Workers in the Communal and Local Economy) took part in the theoretical seminars.

Yu. Radkovskiy raised the extremely important problem of the unity of the present trade union movement in the PNR. He concentrated his attention on questions of cooperation between trade unions and the party, and particularly emphasized that trade unions are true class organizations of workers.

Kh. Rot's report examined the functions of trade unions under capitalism and socialism and their differences, related to the forms of property and distribution in these social-political systems. Further, the speaker depicted Lenin's concept of trade unions under socialism, and noted that they only take part in organizational-economic activity of the state, not replacing the state and administrative apparatus in production management. He explained that under present Polish conditions, primarily the administration and the self-administration of the workers (before 1981 this was called worker self-administration) are involved in economic production work, especially at enterprise level.

K. Kostetskiy familiarized those present with the activity of the Center for Trade Union Cadre Training. He stated that in 1984 the Center trained no fewer than 20,000 trade union workers.

R. Grabovskaya gave a report at the seminar entitled "On the Activity of Trade Unions in the Light of Lenin's Teaching." She dwelled on the history of the emergence of trade unions under capitalism, which determined their main functions. Under socialism the positions and functions of trade unions fundamentally changed.

Yu. Shelongovskiy (deputy chairman of the health workers' federation of trade unions) spoke for the Polish side at the conclusion of the theoretical part of the seminar. He touched upon the topicality of Lenin's teaching on trade

unions as it applied to the activity of his federation and to the entire social and political situation in the PNR.

The discussion held within the framework of the theoretical portion of the seminar was of considerable interest. It showed in particular that the Polish comrades are interested in the broad spectrum of problems of the functioning of trade unions in a developed socialist society.

During the discussion, V. Biskupskiy, chairman of the federation of workers in the forestry and woodworking industry, reported that the federation soviet had adopted a document expressing the desire of the trade unions' members to be actively involved in the struggle for peace. He proposed that the seminar participants sign an appeal with a call to struggle for peace and against the arms race unleashed by imperialism. The seminar presidium decided not to adopt a special appeal, but to reflect this initiative in its protocol.

Summing up the discussion, M. Zygarskiy (deputy chairman of the federation of construction workers' trade unions) noted that the Polish trade union movement is attracting the attention of both our friends and enemies. "President Reagan is trying to instruct us on what the Polish trade union movement should be. Today there are 4.5 million of us. This is our answer to Western attempts to interfere in our internal affairs. Even in Poland there are still people who dream about the rebirth of Solidarity. But we know that we will be successful only with a unified trade union movement in Poland," he stated in conclusion.

Seminar speakers were mainly trade union workers who touched upon not so much theoretical as practical questions of trade union activity. There were more than 30 Polish attendees at the seminar.

All questions related to rights of trade union committees, forms of their work, the financial aspect of their activity and the system of elections to trade union organs generated the most interest among the Polish seminar participants. Striving to satisfy this interest, the Soviet side provided in the practical side of the seminar for a visit to Moscow enterprises and meetings in the central committees of economic branch trade unions. The seminar program included a visit to the "Mosenergo" Central Mechanical Repair factory; the Moscow Energy Institute; the "Petrovskoye" State Breeding Factory, and the Moscow Silk Combine "Krasnaya Rosa" imeni Rosa Luxemburg.

In addition to enterprises, the seminar participants had discussions in four central committees of economic branch trade unions: machine building and instrument making workers; coal industry workers; local industry and communal enterprise workers, and education, higher school and scientific institution workers. In these meetings the federation leaders were interested in the practical work of central committees of economic branch trade unions; their interrelations with the ministries; the organization of socialist competition; central committee rights in accomplishing their protective function and their role in signing collective agreements and monitoring their fulfillment; participation in setting wage rates; the organization of cross-planning, etc.

At meetings in the central committees of branch trade unions, as well as in the enterprises, the leaders of Polish federations acquainted their hosts with the structure of the Polish trade union movement, detailing the difficulties of its renewal and the problems facing trade union workers and federations. It was noted that Polish federations are not controlling organs with respect to enterprise trade union organizations, but merely coordinate their activity, for which purpose collegiums (plenums) are convened in the federations, including chairmen of the enterprise trade union committees involved in the federation. Groups involved in international relations function within the collegiums.

During the discussions, the leaders of the Polish federations repeatedly expressed their readiness to expand mutual cooperation with Soviet trade unions and direct contact between enterprises.

All meetings took place in a friendly, fraternal atmosphere. The Polish participants spoke frankly about their difficulties and about the need to strengthen educational work among the workers, so that they may rebuff the anti-socialist propaganda of the internal opposition and Western centers of ideological diversion. At the concluding session the Polish participants expressed gratitude for the good organization of seminar events and the full program, which enabled them to establish contacts with trade union workers at various levels and discuss frankly the questions of concern to them. The opinion on the need further to expand and extend cooperation between the Polish trade union movement and Soviet trade unions was expressed unanimously.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For information on the previous seminar, see TRUD, 23 September 1983.
2. On the structure of the Polish trade union movement at the present stage, see the article by V. I. Valevskaya in this issue of the journal.

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## BOOK ON LEFT-WING SOCIAL DEMOCRATS REVIEWED

[Review by B. S. Orlov of book entitled "Razmezhevaniya i sdvigi v sotsial-reformizme" {Demarcations and Advances in Social Reformism}, edited by A. S. Chernyayev and A. A. Galkin, Moscow, NAUKA, 1983.]

[Text] In the ideological conflict between the two social and political systems, which became particularly aggravated after bourgeois parties of conservative orientation came to power in a number of the leading capitalist countries, social democracy also occupies its place, trying where it can to preserve the reformist approach to solving social and political problems.

While not accepting the concept of the "third way," or the reformist strategy of the social democrats, as it is unable to escape the boundaries of capitalism, communists at the same time view social democracy as a reformist oriented part of the workers' movement, and favor cooperation with socialist and social democratic parties in defending demands of a social-political nature which are advanced by the working masses. The international communist movement starts from the requirement to draw together all democratic forces under the banner of peace and social progress, which is a vital task of our time.

In this regard a number of questions are particularly urgent. In what direction is social democracy developing? What is its present influence on the masses and on political life in the capitalist countries, and what will be its influence in the foreseeable future? How does it renew its ideological arsenal and tools for solving specific political and economic problems now when the world of capitalism is in the grip of a crisis touching all areas of the life of society? Is its democratic, anti-military potential declining or increasing? Answers to these questions require a thorough understanding of the complex, contradictory and abruptly changing processes which are taking place in the social democratic movement. In general, social democracy as a subject of research requires knowledge and synthesized understanding of the various facets of its activity.

The fruitfulness of precisely this approach is demonstrated by a number of studies developed in recent years by a collective of scientists from IMRD AN SSSR [Institute of the International Workers' Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences], the very sequence of which is indicative of the planned and purposeful nature in which the new processes occurring in the social

democratic movement are being studied.<sup>1</sup> Works dedicated to individual parties of social democratic orientation also were published under the stamp of IMRD.<sup>2</sup> However, if we speak of country studies, the lack of specialized studies on such major parties as the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany], FSP [French Socialist Party] and SDRPSh [Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden] in the scientific literature in recent years is noteworthy. The basic work of S. P. Peregudov (IMEMO AN SSSR) [Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences] on the British laborites, which came out before all the aforementioned, was devoted mostly to the activity of the LPV [Labor Party of Great Britain] within the British political mechanism; the book did not include new phenomena in the current Laborite movement.

Monographs researching these four major parties would, no doubt, make it possible to detail the country-specific activity of social democracy, the more so because it is in these parties most of all that a reexamination of the policy carried out until recently is underway. Until such specific monographs are forthcoming, applicable to each topic examined, rather solid information is presented in these IMRD collective works, where along with providing a general theoretical understanding of the problem, analysis is also given based on examples of the activity of individual parties.

The book being reviewed here opens, not unlike other such works, with a chapter analyzing the special features of the left flank of modern social democracy as a whole (A. A. Galkin). Then the activity of leftist trends or groupings in parties in individual countries is examined. Special chapters are devoted to the socialists of France (S. Ayvazova, S. Velikovskiy); Italy (F. Narinskaya); Spain and Portugal (I. Danilevich); Austria (V. Sveytser); Belgium (M. Neymark); social democrats in the FRG (S. Levanskiy) and Sweden (N. Plevako); and the British Laborites (S. Chernetskiy). This is the first work in Marxist literature which analyzes in such a large scale the activity of leftist trends in the social democratic and socialist parties and gives basic conclusions of a theoretical nature.

It seems completely natural that in its process of step-by-step study of various aspects of social democracy, the collective of IMRD scientists referred to the activity of left-wing social democracy. Whereas prior to the 1970's ideologues and politicians of the party right wing generally dominated the social democratic parties, in the 1970's a move forward took place toward moderate-centrist positions. Correspondingly, the accent in the activity of the international center of social democracy, the Socialist International, also shifted, and the role of the left wing grew.

The researchers are faced with a question: What is the reason for this "move leftward?" What does it mean from the standpoint of the further evolution of the ideological and political policy of social democracy? The problem of comprehending and assessing its "left potential" has not only a scientific, but also a direct practical importance, for it is most closely related to practical tasks which face communists who are conducting a policy of cooperating with social democrats. The demands advanced and theoretically justified by left wing social democrats are compatible with many communist demands. Among the social democrats, it is namely those on the left who are

most active in the antiwar movement, often coming into confrontation with the leaders of their parties.

The process of forming left-wing trends is complex and not the same everywhere, as one can see through familiarity with this book. In some parties (SDPG, LPV, SPA [Socialist Party of Austria], ISP [Italian Socialist Party], BSP [Belgian Socialist Party]) they have many years of tradition; in others (FSP, ISRP [Spanish Socialist Workers' Party], PSP [Pacifist Socialist Party - Netherlands]) they were actually formed anew in the 1970's, while in some (SDRPSh) they are only beginning to form. Their influence also varies. The left Laborites, for example, succeeded in the late 1970's in occupying a number of key positions in the party leadership and in influencing significantly its ideological positions. The French left-wing socialists (SERES Group [expansion unknown]) worked hard so that in the renewed party (after the disintegration of SFIO [French Section of Socialist International]) the 1980 FSP Program would be based on its views. In the SDPG, leftists reached the peak of their influence by the mid-1970's and enlivened theoretical discussion in the party, but from the end of the 1970's their role was not so marked. Belgian left-wing socialists have been developing swiftly, especially since the early 1980's. At the same time, in the ISP the left wing had to retreat into obscure opposition, losing its place in the party leadership to right-centrist forces. The influence of left-wing socialists on the activity of their parties weakened in Spain and Portugal. In the SPA, left-wing forces are active on the theoretical plane, but their influence on the activity of the party leadership is insignificant. The influence of the left in the SDRPSh is still less.

However, besides the degree of influence on the practical activity of parties, it is also important to explain that functional role which left-wing groupings undertake. Devoting great attention to this question, the authors start from an understanding of the essence of social democracy as an element of the bourgeois political system, on the one hand, and as a mass movement, on the other, relying on broad strata of the working population. "The left-wing forces seem to personify its second aspect, and in this capacity play an important role in the functioning of the social democratic movement as a whole" (p 24). They serve as an effective channel of communications between the parties and the mass non-political movements. Including the leftists in the leadership of most parties and replacing figures who remained "too far right" with more left oriented "frequently makes it possible to accomplish a profound maneuver, preserving the appearance of continuity and still not losing their main political positions" (p 25).

At the same time, as the researcher examines the role of leftists in social democracy as those who express the interests of the wide strata of working population included in the social base of social democracy, he is unavoidably confronted with a number of problems which demand special understanding and explanation.

It has long been noted that in the course of discussions (and in social democracy they are usual and constant) the advocates of right and moderate (centrist) orientation, answering criticism from the left, point to their more permanent link with the trade unions and to the results of their striving to

solve problems which touch the interests of wage earners, such as increasing wages, providing employment and developing a social security network, while the left wing spends its time on theoretical quarrels which are "removed from life." There is some truth in these arguments. However, there is also truth in the leftists' answers: One should not credit only the pragmatic social democratic politicians. Some improvements are the result of the stubborn struggle of the laboring masses themselves, the powerful working class strike movement and the activities of all forces involved in the left spectrum of political life. Most important, however, emphasizes the left wing, is the fact that all these social reforms which help to improve the condition of the workers do not make it possible to escape the framework of capitalism and consequently to solve the main task; that of creating a society of social justice, a society of "democratic socialism."

This answer revealed, I believe, the main purpose of left-wing social democracy, which is, while remembering the positive importance of social reformist activity, to link it with the strategic directives to transform capitalist society. The left-wing does not wish to be reconciled to pragmatism, which defines the reformist thrust of social democracy, but is seeking its way out of the "reformist blind alley." Such searching, in the final analysis, inevitably leads sufficiently curious and persistent thinking to a comparison (in the light of the objective evolution of social and political activity) of the original conceptual aims and views on socialist goals and ways of achieving them, on the one hand, with those functions which social reformism is actually fulfilling in capitalist society, on the other.

As for the position of the book's authors on the question of actual functions, it is stated rather clearly and in full accord with the above thesis on the dual essence of social democracy: "...with all the differences among the parties comprising the social reformist movement, there is a core which can be taken as the basis of their typology. It is the correlation of the tendencies which reflect the two functions of social reformism in capitalist society: on the one hand, modernization of its managerial mechanisms, and on the other, realizing the current interests and needs of the main mass of the working population and, consequently, also the correlation of forces which is the carrier of these tendencies in the individual social democratic parties" (p 8). This understanding of the function of social democracy in capitalist society was put forth by the book's authors back in their previous collective work<sup>4</sup> and, consequently, is a kind of generalization of many years of thinking on this topic.

It is true that social democracy (in its own way and far from always consistently) attempts to realize the current interests and needs of the main mass of workers in the capitalist countries. No special proof of this is necessary. But how is this second function correlated with the first, "modernizing" function? And what is the meaning of the "modernizing" function itself? Although the authors do not give a complete explanation of this function, it is clear, nonetheless, from the book's content. Armed with Keynesian methods of economic regulation, and interpreting them in their own way (differently in various countries), social democracy was very instrumental in the fact that, after the "Great Depression" of the 1930's, capitalism acquired a kind of "second breath." Instructive is the activity of the SDPG

at the end of the 1960's, when it was namely the social democrats who proposed a group of measures which permitted the FRG economy, which, after a prolonged period of "economic miracle," had been seriously shaken, to again stand on its feet. When the FRG economy entered a period of protracted crisis in the 1970's, again the social democrats took energetic steps to lead it out of stagnation.

In examining this "modernizing" function, it is important to answer a question which is essential to understanding the class nature of social democracy: Why does it do this? Obviously, no serious researcher would now accept the previously popular point of view, according to which monopoly capital summons social democrats to power whenever it is advantageous to do so, and then the right-wing social democratic leaders roll up their sleeves and obediently fulfill the monopolists' commands. Regarding this, practice in recent years shows that monopolistic groupings prefer to see parties of bourgeois orientation at the helm of government, and give them support, first of all financial, as was described in the previous book.<sup>5</sup>

In this case, what is the "modernizing" function of social democracy? First it consists of the conceptual aims and corresponding practical views of right-wing social democracy, for which socialism, as the book indicates, is "some ethical ideal, the realization of which requires simple improvement of existing social relations" (p 13), and the current system of GMK [state monopoly capitalism] "is no longer capitalism, but some intermediate state, which is equally subject to evolution in any direction" (p 14).

True, today the social democrats themselves are forced to acknowledge how illusory calculations of the "gradual displacement of capitalism" and securing the planned development of the capitalist economy turned out to be. In a resolution adopted at the last congress of the Socialist International, in Portugal (April 1983), they had to include the unpleasant (for them) statement: "Euphoric illusions about a transformed capitalism and views about economic growth leading without perturbances and serious institutional changes to greater justice in individual countries and in the relations among them, turned out to be an unjustified generalization of the experience of the 1950's and 1960's, which has now revealed its groundlessness. Despite all the positive changes in capitalism over the last century...the system continues to develop BLINDLY (reviewer's stress) through economic and technological revolutions, not taking into account their consequences and alternatives."<sup>6</sup>

Important to us in this case, however, is the fact that right-wing social democrats heading the government (and in the 1950's and 1960's it was namely the right-wing which set the tone in the parties) were actively involved in "modernization" of the capitalist economy and the political institutes of society, supposing that a gradual process of the transformation of capitalism to a "mixed society" was taking place. Moreover, they started from a belief that "in some countries (of the capitalist West -- reviewer) the foundation for a socialist society" had been laid, and their conviction in this was set down already back in the Frankfurt Declaration of 1951.<sup>7</sup> The social democratic parties approached "modernization" in different ways. Thus, while the British Laborites nationalized a number of branches of industry in the post-war years, the Swedish social democrats, in power without interruption

for more than four decades, did not resort to nationalization, considering redistribution of incomes to the benefit of wage earners to be a more effective mechanism. It is important that the social democrats always try to realize their "modernizing" function while in the rigid conditions of the whole aggregate of economic and political relations existing in capitalist society, at the national and supra-national levels. Even while in power, they at best could permit themselves to carry out a more active social policy than the bourgeois parties.<sup>8</sup> The socialist parties, which intended to escape the "vicious circle of social democracy," and to accomplish a "break with capitalism," today prefer not to recall this, and carry out on the social plane a policy of "rigid economizing."

The materials and conclusions of the book under review indicate clearly that the left-wing social democrats have a negative attitude toward a "modernizing" policy carried out in this way. In almost all parties of social democratic orientation, left-wing forces began to be active in about the late 1960's and early 1970's. I think that this is not a coincidence. It was namely the social democratic left which first grasped that social democratic reformism, despite its behavior in the 1950's and 1960's, was not capable of consistent development and, despite that which was asserted in the Frankfurt Declaration, was not able to escape the bounds of capitalism. When the crisis developed in the 1970's, and it turned out that the majority of social democratic parties had no effective instrument to combat it, this still further convinced the social democratic left that counting on curbing the spontaneous nature of capitalism was unwarranted. Under these conditions, the "modernizing" function of social democracy became less and less persuasive. It was namely in these years that the theoretical thinking of the social democratic left was engaged in intensive searching for an escape from the "social democratic blind alley." It must be stressed that, in this situation, interest in Marxism is noticeably increasing, including in parties where for a number of reasons Marxist teaching had long been completely ignored (for example, in Swedish social democracy).

The book shows clearly all the diversity in this searching, and at the same time its materials make it possible to distinguish the main trends in left-wing social democratic thinking, related to the working out of its own alternative. This alternative, it seems to us, has four points of departure.

I. All left socialists and social democrats start from the need to reexamine fundamentally the policy of reforms, and to attach to it a purposeful "system transforming," and "system overcoming" nature.

II. Since right-wing leaders and moderates do not desire or are not able to carry out such a policy of reforms, it is considered necessary for left-wing social democrats to influence party policy and try, for this purpose, to occupy as many key posts as possible.

III. The parliamentary system of the Western countries does not allow parties which are guided merely by electoral considerations to carry out such system transforming measures. Consequently, it is necessary to seek to have the broad masses exert additional influence through various channels on the activity of parties and parliamentary and state institutions.

IV. Many categories of workers in the population do not comprehend the need for such actions or do not wish to participate in them. Consequently, explanatory work is necessary, most of all in places where the majority of wage workers are employed.

This is a general synopsis of the strategy of the left-wing socialists as it was formulated in the 1970's. How was it implemented in practice? The materials of this book also answer this question. The left Laborites in Great Britain achieved the most. In large measure due to their efforts, the procedure for forming the leading organs of the party was reexamined, the right-wing was significantly squeezed and some of them left the party (creating a new party, the SDPV). The left laborites succeeded in placing in the party programs such important provisions as the need for a sharp change in the correlation of the private and public sectors through nationalization and involving the state in the profitable industrial sectors and the financial sphere, and in implementing measures capable of leading to fundamental power changes. The book presents a detailed and well-reasoned analysis of all of this.

On the theoretical plane, the left wing in the FSP succeeded in accomplishing a great deal. Their draft, which contained ideas of a "break with capitalism," formed the basis of the party program adopted in 1980 and became a kind of ideological reference point for the party enroute to power, although, as is known, its policy after coming to power has been characterized by very substantial retreats from the program.

The left wing in the SDPG forced the leadership to initiate a long-term 12 year reform program. Under its influence the first draft was set aside as purely pragmatic and shorn of any "socialist orientation," and the left was able to write in a number of important provisions in the second draft, including an entire paragraph devoted to party activity toward gaining the people's confidence.

The left in the SPA also had influence on the formation of the program within its party. In the 1978 program they succeeded in preserving a provision on the classless society as an objective which Austrian socialists set before themselves.

The Belgian left socialists increased their influence on both the organizational and theoretical planes which, as the book stated, enables one to speak of a "qualitatively new stage of their development" (p 299).

Along with the drawing together of Western European social democrats under the influence of the left into centrist and in a number of cases left-centrist positions, a more complex arrangement of forces emerged in the parties and struggle among trends in the parties intensified, at times reaching the point of splits (detachment of the social democratic group from the LPV). Nevertheless, the left wing, even in the most leftist LPV, failed to achieve all that it counted on. The book shows, through examples of individual parties, that a number of both objective and subjective factors influenced this. Trying to occupy an intermediate position between the traditional

approach of the social reformists and the revolutionary approach of the communists to the problem of transforming society, the left socialists and social democrats display inconsistency. Although not badly versed in theory, they are weak in applying it to practice. When they propose their variant for solving practical problems, it becomes clear that their radical alternative does not find sufficient support either in the party or in the electorate. A trade unionist frame of mind, about which Lenin spoke in his day, is alive as before in the mass of wage earners in the capitalist countries, including Western Europe. Although in the post war decades the social dynamic of the working class in the developed capitalist countries was very active,<sup>9</sup> which influenced a change in the values of broad categories of wage earners toward more thorough understanding of the injustice and failure of capitalism as a social structure, nevertheless, these views and frames of mind continue to remain within the framework of a social reformist approach to solving social problems. For left-wing social democrats the problem of making the workers, who comprise the social base of social democracy, more active remains pressing as before. It is a problem which, in the main, they are so far solving only theoretically.

It is not difficult to see that the strategy being developed by the left-wing social democrats has many more points of correspondence with revolutionary communist strategy than it does with traditional social reformism. These circumstances have their role to play when the question arises between social democrats and communists of expanding dialogue, establishing cooperation, and conducting a policy of joint actions, especially concerning the prevention of nuclear war. Left social democrats vividly comprehend the full danger of thermonuclear war which hangs over the world. This is indicated in the section devoted to the attitude of the left toward questions of foreign policy. At the same time, the processes of demarcation are uneven and often ambiguous, and a "political trend within the framework of social democracy in a given country, which holds right-wing positions on domestic questions and in its approach to foreign policy problems, may turn out to be more realistic than a trend which breaks off the left into another social democratic party" (p 20). But, overall the left wing in Western European social democracy represents a notable factor in the struggle to preserve peace, which is developing with particular force today in the capitalist countries.

As any serious research, this monograph discloses problems which require further analysis and discussion. We will note but one of them. Acquainting oneself with the ideological positions (as well as the political practice) of left-wing social democracy (and this is an inseparable part of contemporary social democracy as a whole), and being convinced of the fact that inherent to them is a certain, if not altogether consistent, anticapitalist thrust, the question must be posed: To what extent, in what sense and in what respects can the ideology of modern social democracy be examined as one variant of bourgeois ideology? This is not only a theoretical, but a practical question. I believe that it requires extensive collective discussion. The materials and conclusions of this work would, undoubtedly, facilitate such a discussion, since the book reveals rather distinctly the ideological and political essence of left-wing social democracy.

Summarizing these observations, it can be stated that the book under review is making a significant contribution to further extending understanding of the essence of social democracy. It is serious, thoroughly reasoned research, relying on Marxist-Leninist methodology and creatively taking into account the latest phenomena and tendencies in the reformist workers' movement. It contains scientific innovation and practical importance.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Thus, before this book was published, works were published on demarcations and advances in social reformism and on left-wing social democracy, which were dedicated to its social base, the electorate and analysis of its mechanism for functioning within the system of state monopoly capitalism. These were respectively: "Rabochiye izbirateli v stranakh Zapadnoy Evropy," [Workers Electorate in the Countries of Western Europe], A. A. Galkin, editor-in-chief, Moscow, 1980; "Sotsial-demokraticheskiy i burzhuaznyy reformizm v sisteme gosudarstvenno-monopolisticheskogo kapitalizma" [Social Democracy and Bourgeois Reformism in the System of State Monopoly Capital], A. S. Chernyayev and A. A. Galkin, editors-in-chief, Moscow, 1980. A book published after the one here being reviewed in point of fact studies the sources of many problems in contemporary ideological evolution of social democracy. See: "Ideologiya mezhdunarodnoy sotsial-demokratii v period mezhdy dvumya mirovymi voynami" [The Ideology of International Social Democracy in the Period Between the two World Wars], Moscow, 1984.
2. M. A. Neymark, "Bel'giyskaya sotsialisticheskaya partiya: ideologiya i politika" [Belgian Socialist Party: Ideology and Politics], Moscow, 1976; V. Ya. Shveytser, "Sotsialisticheskaya partiya Avstrii: teoriya i politika" [Socialist Party of Austria: Theory and Politics], Moscow, 1978; I. V. Danilevich, "Sotsialisticheskiye partii Ispanii i Portugalii. Opyt srovnitel'nogo analiza" [Socialist Parties of Spain and Portugal. The Experience of Comparative Analysis], Moscow, 1984.
3. S. P. Peregudov, "Layboristskaya partiya v sotsial'no-politicheskoy sisteme Velikobritanii" [Laborite Party in the Social and Political System of Great Britain], Moscow, 1975.
4. See: op. cit., "Sotsial-demokraticheskiy i burzhuaznyy reformizm..," p 5.
5. Ibid.
6. "Declaration of Albufeira," in "The World in Crisis. The Social Response." 16th Socialist International Congress, Lisbon, 1983, pp 32-34.
7. "Erklarung der Sozialistischen Internationale: Ziele und Aufgaben des demokratischen Sozialismus" In: "Programme der deutschen Sozialdemokratie," Bonn, 1978, p 76.
8. In particular, the West German political scientist Manfred Schmidt came to this conclusion in his work comparing social democratic and bourgeois governments. See: M. G. Schmidt, "Wohlfahrtsstaatliche Politik unter

burgerlichen und sozialdemokratischen Regierungen. Ein internationaler Vergleich," Frankfurt, 1982.

9. See: "Osobennosti vosproizvodstva rabochego klassa razvitykh kapitalisticheskikh stran" [Special Features of Working Class Regeneration in the Developed Capitalist Countries], A. A. Galkin, editor-in-chief, Moscow, 1978.

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